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THE
HISTORY OF SPAIN,

FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIOD

TO THE
CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1809.



IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

BY JOHN BIGLAND,

Author of "Letters on the Study of Ancient and Modern History," &c.

STAT MAGNI NOMINIS UMBRA.

LUCAN.

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VOL. II

BY JOHN BISHOP

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THE HISTORY OF SPAIN

AND THE HISTORY OF SPAIN

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THE

HISTORY OF SPAIN.

CHAP. I.

War between Charles V. and Francis I.—Charles returns from Germany to Spain.—Visits Henry VIII. at London.—The Duke of Bourbon, Constable of France, abandons his country and enters into the service of Charles.—Distress of the imperial generals through want of money.—Siege and battle of Pavia.—The King of France made prisoner.—Is illiberally treated by Charles.—Peace concluded, and Francis I. returns to his kingdom.—League of several powers against Charles.—The Duke of Bourbon killed at the assault of Rome.—Capture and sack of Rome.—Single combat agreed on between Charles and Francis, but prevented.—Reflections on the subject.—Peace of Cambray.—War between Charles and the Ottoman Emperor Solyman.—Glorious expedition of Charles to Tunis.

THE competition of the Kings of France and Spain for the imperial crown had left between these two monarchs an inveterate enmity, which could never admit of a sincere reconciliation. In speaking of the subject, Francis had observed

that, "As they both courted the same mistress, the most fortunate would win her : the other must remain contented." Yet this magnanimous remark at the beginning of the contest did not prevent his resentment at the decision ; and, indeed, he had plausible reasons for attempting to take revenge on his rival. He thought himself bound by honour as well as by interest to restore the family of Albret to the throne of Navarre, and he also had pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, of which Ferdinand had deprived his predecessor. Charles, on the contrary, might reclaim the Duchy of Milan as a fief of the empire, and Burgundy as the patrimonial domain of his ancestors, which had been wrested from them by the injustice of Louis XI. To examine these different claims would, at this day, be uninteresting : they are common occurrences, such as are met with in all political histories ; and the annals of the world exhibit, in almost every page, nations expiating, in oceans of blood, the ambition of their rulers.

Navarre presented the first subject and source of those hostilities which were about to agitate Europe. In the name of Henry D'Albret, son of Jean D'Albret, whom Ferdinand had dispossessed of his throne, a body of troops, under Andrew de Foix, invaded Navarre, captured Pampeluna, and advanced into Castile. But the

triumph of the invaders was of short duration. The pride of the Castilians was wounded : a powerful army was instantly raised : the French were obliged to retire, and Navarre was again reduced under the authority of Spain.

A particular relation of all the wars of Charles V. would include the general history of Europe during his reign. Such a narrative would, at least, be rather a history of Germany than of Spain, whose interests were little consulted, and only obliquely involved in those contests which once made so much noise in the world, but now attract only a very small share of the attention of posterity. The subject has been ably treated by the masterly pen of Dr. Robertson; and it will therefore suffice to confine the present narrative to those actions and events which particularly regard Spain, and have contributed to influence her destiny. The flames of war had not been confined to Navarre, they had raged with more extensive destruction in Italy, and after a vigorous campaign the French were nearly expelled from the Milanese. These disasters in Italy induced Francis to renew the war on the side of Spain, and Fontarabia surrendered to his arms. The loss of this important place excited or confirmed the intention of Charles to revisit Spain after more than two years of absence, during which time that kingdom had

been a theatre of the most dreadful commotions. On his way he visited Henry VIII. of England; and during his stay of six weeks at London, he confirmed his alliance with that monarch.

The preceding year had been marked by the death of Pope Leo X. Historians, who delight in having something wonderful to relate, have repeated the improbable tale that he died of joy, on hearing of the ill success of the French arms in Italy. The fact was that he died of a fever; and his death made way for the election of Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, Regent of Spain, who had been the tutor of Charles, and was entirely devoted to his interests. On the arrival of Charles in Spain, Adrian set out for Rome to take possession of the papal chair; and the Emperor directed his whole attention to heal the wounds which civil war had inflicted on the kingdom. By an act of clemency, not less politic than generous, he delivered his subjects from their existing apprehensions, and conciliated their future affections. After so general an insurrection not above twenty persons were capitally punished. Notwithstanding the solicitations of his council, Charles refused to shed any more blood by the hand of the executioner; nor would he permit any search to be made for the few who had been excepted from the general pardon. To an officious courtier, who offered

to inform him of the retreat of one of the most considerable of the rebels, he replied, "You had better inform him where I am than tell me where he is." This apparent magnanimity, with the respect which he paid to his mother, gained the affections of the Spaniards; and the assiduity and address with which he acquired their language and assumed their manners, established his ascendancy over their minds. The states of Castile granted him a free gift of four hundred thousand ducats: a considerable body of Spanish troops was sent into Italy; and from that period the Spaniards supported all his enterprises with a zeal and valour that covered their soldiers with glory, but exhausted and impoverished the kingdom.

A. D. 1524. Fontarabia, however, was again reduced under the authority of Spain.

The Castilian troops had twice been obliged to retire from before its walls, and perhaps their third attack would have been equally unsuccessful had the courage and abilities of the governor corresponded with the number of his garrison and the strength of the fortifications. Part of the victorious army was afterwards sent into Italy, and Charles, in the mean while, acquired an able general in the Duke of Bourbon, Constable of France, who, deserting the service of Francis, entered into that of the Emperor. Charles

gave him the command of an army, with which he entered France, and besieged Marseilles; but the city was defended by a veteran garrison; and the King of France advancing with superior forces to its relief, obliged the Duke to retreat with precipitation into Italy. He was soon followed by Francis, who, with an army of forty thousand men, crossed the Alps by the way of Mount Cenis, pursued Bourbon and the Marquis de Pescara to Milan, and from thence to Lodi. But the French monarch, instead of attacking them in that position, laid siege to Pavia, which was garrisoned by six thousand veteran troops, under the command of Don Antonio de Leyva, a Spanish officer of distinguished abilities and courage. The imperial generals, without money for the payment of their troops, and without hope of supplies from the Emperor, were in a most embarrassing situation; but they found resources in their own activity and address, and in that fertile genius which always shines most conspicuous amidst dangers and difficulties. Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples, procured a trifling loan by mortgaging the revenues of that kingdom. Pescara, who was idolized by the Spanish troops, prevailed on those gallant soldiers to serve without any immediate demand of pay; and the Duke of Bourbon, having raised some money by pawning his jewels, set out for

Germany in order to levy fresh troops. Thus was the poverty of the imperial treasury counteracted by the generous exertions of a few military commanders ambitious of glory, a circumstance, which, among many others of a similar nature, shews how difficult it was to keep any considerable armies constantly on foot in those times when the feudal levies began to be disused, and the mines of America had not yet begun to pour their wealth into Europe.*

A siege of three months had reduced Pavia to the last extremity; but the address and authority of Leyva repressed the murmurs of the garrison, and prevented its surrender. In the mean while the zeal and activity of Bourbon had collected twelve thousand Germans, with whom he entered Lombardy and joined the camp at Lodi. But the imperial generals were far from having funds sufficient for the support of their armies. By magnificent promises, however, they prevailed on the troops to serve for some time without pay. The soldiers sensible that by disbanding themselves they should forfeit the arrears already due, and eager for spoil, clamorously demanded to be led to battle. The imperial generals, without suffering their ardour to cool, immediately advanced to

* Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 2. p. 315, 316. The great difficulty which Charles V. sovereign of so many countries, found in supporting his armies must astonish a modern reader.

Pavia. On their approach the French monarch called a council of war : the most experienced of his officers advised him to decline a battle, to retire to some strong position, and wait till the necessities of the imperialists should oblige them to disband their army, an event which must, indeed, soon have taken place. Bonnivet, on the contrary, representing the disgrace of abandoning the siege, advised him to risk an action ; and Francis, whose chivalrous notions of honour impelled him to romantic measures, resolved to wait the approach of the enemy.

The imperial generals found the French so strongly intrenched that they hesitated to give the signal for action ; but the necessities of the besieged, and the clamours of their soldiers, obliged them to put all to the hazard. The

Feb. 24. battle was obstinate and sanguinary,
A. D. 1525. but the victory was decisive in favour of the imperialists. Not less than ten thousand of the enemy were left dead on the field, among whom were the most illustrious of the nobles of France, and particularly the Admiral, Bonnivet, whose fatal counsels had occasioned the calamity. In the general route of the army, Francis himself being left on the field dismounted, and wounded in several places, having performed prodigies of personal valour, was at length exhausted with fatigue and made

prisoner after six of his assailants had perished by his hand. In less than a fortnight after this defeat the French were completely expelled from Italy.

The disastrous affair of Pavia had filled all France with consternation ; and the successes of Charles excited the jealousy of the other European powers. Henry VIII. of England, saw, with concern, the balance of power on the continent destroyed ; and his minister, Wolsey, having seen the elevation first of Adrian and afterwards of Clement to the papacy, remembered, with indignation, the fallacious promises with which he had been deluded by the Emperor. He painted, in glowing colours, the dangers with which Europe was menaced by the rising greatness and the ambition of Charles ; and Henry, listening attentively to the counsels of his minister, soon after found a pretext for breaking off his alliance with that monarch. The Pope was not less concerned in seeing the independence of Italy endangered, but unable to stem the torrent, he concluded a treaty with Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples, and, on certain conditions, advanced him a considerable sum of money, which came as a seasonable supply for paying the troops who had conquered at Pavia. The soldiers, who had defended that city with such meritorious courage, had seized the town in

security for the payment of their arrears. Lannoy appeased them with the money obtained from the Pope, but sensible of the impossibility of keeping them on foot, and apprehensive that, as a further security, they might seize the person of Francis, he dismissed all the German and Italian troops. In this age it may appear somewhat extraordinary that an army, not exceeding twenty-five thousand men, should have been disbanded for want of money, when Charles was considered as the most powerful monarch of Europe. This low state of his finances prevented him from taking advantage of so favourable a moment for making a grand effort against France, with the whole force of Spain and the Netherlands, and induced him to enter into negotiations for the liberty of his royal prisoner, and the restoration of peace.

Francis, in the mean while, had been conveyed to Spain, and lodged in the Alcazar at Madrid, where he was guarded with unremitted vigilance. Here he had expected an interview with the Emperor; but instead of the hope with which he had been flattered he found himself placed in a solitary prison; and the only recreation allowed him was that of riding out to take the air, accompanied by a numerous guard of soldiers. Six months he spent in this tedious confinement, without once being admitted to the presence of

Charles, who then resided at Toledo ; and the continuance of this harsh treatment produced a fever which threatened to put a period to his sufferings and his life. Charles began now to be apprehensive that all the advantages which he had expected from the captivity of Francis might elude his grasp ; and, solicitous to preserve a life, the termination of which must have closed the splendid prospects opened by the victory of Pavia, he granted to policy what he had refused to humanity. He hastened to Madrid to visit his illustrious prisoner, and accosting him in terms of respect and affection, gave him hopes of a speedy deliverance on easy and honourable terms.

The expectations raised by this interview revived the spirits of Francis, and greatly contributed to his recovery. But no sooner was his health restored than Charles resumed his former reserve, and again began to protract the negotiations. Francis, at length being reduced to despair by this tedious procrastination, formed the resolution of resigning the crown of France to his son the Dauphin ; and intimating his intention to the Emperor, requested him to fix on the place of his confinement for the remainder of his days, and to assign him a proper number of attendants. So decisive a project accelerated

the determination of Charles. He was sensible that he could derive no advantage from having in his hands a Prince without dominions or revenues. This consideration induced him to relax something in his demands, while Francis, having received intelligence that a powerful league was forming against the Emperor, grew more compliant in regard to concessions, not doubting that he should be able to resume them, if he could once obtain his liberty. With these

A.D. 1526. views the two monarchs concluded a

treaty. The King of France agreed to deliver up Burgundy in full sovereignty to the Emperor; to renounce all his claims on Artois and Flanders; to make full reparation to the Duke of Bourbon and his adherents for the losses which they had sustained by the confiscation of their property; and he further engaged to use his influence with Henry D'Albret, in order to induce that Prince to relinquish his right to the kingdom of Navarre. It was also stipulated that Francis should deliver his two eldest sons as hostages, and should marry the Emperor's sister, the Dowager Queen of Portugal, and that on the execution of the treaty the hostages should be set at liberty. The King of France also engaged on his honour and his oath, that if he did not fulfil the stipulations he would again surrender

himself prisoner to the Emperor.* The treaty being signed, Francis took leave of his new brother-in-law with external demonstrations of respect, but with an inward and deep resentment, and departed under an escort from Madrid, a place embittered to his remembrance by so many disagreeable recollections. On the frontiers they were met by the hostages; and the French monarch, after embracing his children, once more entered his kingdom, after a captivity of one year and twenty days from the memorable battle of Pavia.

But the peace, restored by this treaty, was only of short duration. Neither the honour nor the oath of Francis could bind him to fulfil engagements so disadvantageous to his interests. Before the signature of the treaty at Madrid, he had, in the presence of a few of his counsellors, in whom he could confide, protested that his consent to its articles was to be regarded as an involuntary act, and void of obligation. His first care was to procure such allies as might enable him to support his perfidy by arms. The Pope, the Venetians, the Duke of Milan, and the King of England, readily entered into a confederacy to set bounds to the aggrandizement of the Emperor, and assumed the name of the

* Recueil de Trait. tom. 2.

Holy League. Supported by such an extensive alliance the French monarch alleged that he could not execute the treaty of Madrid without the concurrence of the states of the kingdom ; and the deputies from the Duchy of Burgundy declared, in the presence of the imperial ambassadors, that no King could alienate their country from the crown. Francis affected to be convinced by their arguments, and the ambassadors of the Emperor retired with indignant contempt from the farce.

Italy immediately became the theatre of hostilities. The Duke of Bourbon had gained possession of the Milaneze, but found himself under the embarrassment so common to the imperial generals, the want of money to pay his troops. The Duchy was exhausted by repeated invasions ; and the Cortes of Spain refused to contribute to the support of a distant war in which their country had no concern. In this extremity Bourbon ventured on a measure as unexpected as it was bold and extraordinary. The Pope had acted in such a manner as to merit the severest chastisement from the Emperor ; and Bourbon took the daring resolution of marching to Rome, in order to gratify the rapacity of his soldiers by the plunder of that celebrated city. With an army of twenty-five thousand men, without money, magazines, or artillery, he advanced to

that capital. Having encamped before the walls he soon gave orders for the assault, but was killed in the moment of victory, in the thirty-ninth year of his age.* His army, under the

May 6, command of Philibert, Prince of
A.D. 1527. Orange, entered and sacked the ancient mistress of the world. The cruelty and rapacity of the imperial soldiers rendered the city a scene of carnage and rapine; and an eloquent historian has observed that Rome never suffered so great calamities from the Goths or the Vandals as she now experienced from the Catholic subjects of a Catholic monarch.

The Pope had retired to the castle of St. Angelo; but that fortress not being capable of a long defence, he was obliged to surrender. Experience, however, had taught Charles the danger of awakening the fears and alarming the prejudices of mankind. He cast a veil of religion and piety over his measures, and pretended to disavow the enterprise of Bourbon. He appointed prayers and processions in Spain to supplicate heaven for the recovery of the Pope's liberty, which he himself could have immediately granted by an order to his generals.† But so gross an artifice could deceive none but the Vulgar: all

* Hen. Ab. Chron. An. 1527. Guicciard. lib. 18. p. 445.

† Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 2. p. 409.

Europe heard with astonishment and horror that the successor of St. Peter was held in prison by a christian Emperor. Francis, although rendered cautious by misfortune, now rushed to action. His general, Lautrec, entered Italy, reduced the greatest part of the Milaneze, and directed his march towards Rome. His approach accelerated the liberation of the Pope: the imperial troops in that city were not only enervated by indulgence but untractable and mutinous, and their officers could not rely either on their valour or obedience. The Cortes of Spain still refused to grant any pecuniary supplies, and Charles was glad to conclude a treaty with the Pope, who agreed to purchase his liberty at the price of 350,000 crowns. The influence of the Prince of Orange, and the terror inspired by the approach of the French army under Lautrec, induced the imperial troops to quit Rome and point their retreat towards Naples, where they arrived after being wasted to one half of their original number, by the effects of intemperance, debauchery, and disease.*

' During these transactions, the two rival monarchs, Charles and Francis, prepared to terminate the contest by single combat. In this manner, indeed, and not by the effusion of the

* Guicciard. lib. 18. p. 478.

blood of millions, ought all quarrels like theirs to be decided. "They inherited," says Montluc, "a jealousy of each others greatness, which has "been the ruin of a million of families."* How happy then would it have been for Europe had their contest for superiority been, at the first moment, decided by their own swords. In order to bring it to this decision, Francis gave the challenge, which was readily accepted by Charles; but some difficulties of etiquette respecting the order of combat, prevented the meeting, and thus deprived historians of a magnificent theme, and ambitious Princes of a splendid example.

In the mean while the French general, Lantrec, had pursued the imperialists, and commenced the siege of Naples. Every thing promised him an easy conquest, when the scales were suddenly turned. The celebrated Andrew Doria, the ablest seaman of his age, after defeating the squadrons of the Emperor, blockaded the city by sea; but his independent spirit had given offence to Francis who had ordered his arrest. Doria, being apprized of his danger, immediately deserted to the Emperor, and, by means of his fleet, poured plenty into Naples. The besiegers, on the contrary, soon experienced

* Montluc ap. Henault Ab. Chron. An. 1528.

a want of provision; their army was almost annihilated by sickness; and the general himself fell the victim of disease and disappointment. From this period the operations in Italy were a series of successes on the side of the imperialists, and the French were obliged to evacuate Naples and Genoa.

Notwithstanding the success which attended his arms, the thoughts of the Emperor began to be turned towards peace. The progress of Solyman, who, having penetrated through Hungary, was ready to break into Austria with all the forces of the Ottoman empire; the troubles with which Germany was menaced by the doctrines of Luther, and the refusal of the Spaniards to contribute any longer to the support of the war, all concurred to incline him to pacific measures. On the other hand, Francis, discouraged by the ill success of his enterprises, hoped to restore that freedom to his sons by negotiation, which he had in vain attempted by arms. A treaty of peace was therefore concluded at Cambray: Charles consented not to demand the restitution of Burgundy, but his claims were allowed to remain in full force: Francis renounced all his pretensions in Italy, resigned the sovereignty of Artois and Flanders, and agreed to pay two millions of crowns for the ransom of his sons. These con-

A. D. 1529.

ditions were as glorious and advantageous to Charles as they were disgraceful and prejudicial to Francis, who had sacrificed every object for which he had commenced the war.

The King of England acceded to the treaty of Cambray, and Charles was desirous of employing the season of tranquillity in visiting his Italian and German dominions. The restoration of peace concurred with his address and insinuating manners to conciliate the affections of his subjects. On his arrival in Italy the people of that country, who had suffered so much from the ferocity and licentiousness of his armies, were equally surprised and charmed with his graceful appearance, his affability and exemplary attention to the offices of religion; and the affected humility with which, at Bologna, he kissed the feet of the Pontiff, whom he had detained as a prisoner, contributed in no small degree to confirm their esteem and increase their attachment.

From Italy, Charles proceeded to Germany, where the dissensions, excited by religious differences, demanded his presence. In the diet at Augsbourg the doctrines of Luther were condemned; but some of its principal members protested against the decree, and, from that circumstance, obtained the name of Protestants. The next project of Charles

was that of continuing the imperial crown in the House of Austria ; and by his endeavours and influence his brother Ferdinand, King of Bohemia and Hungary, was elected King of the Romans. At this juncture the hereditary dominions of the Emperor, and even the empire itself was menaced with a dreadful calamity. The Ottoman Emperor, who, with an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, had penetrated through Hungary into Austria, had, by the skilful conduct of Ferdinand, been obliged to retire from before the walls of Vienna. Solyman made immense preparations for repairing this disgrace,

A. D. 1532.

and early in the spring invaded Hungary with an army of three hundred thousand men. The Princes of the empire having furnished their contingents, Charles placed himself at their head, and being joined by a numerous body of Spanish and Italian veterans, marched with thirty thousand cavalry, and ninety thousand well disciplined infantry to defend Hungary against the Ottomans. Armies so numerous and formidable, commanded by the two greatest monarchs in the world, could not fail of attracting the attention of Europe ; but each dreading the power and fortune of the other, they conducted their operations with such excessive caution that the campaign elapsed without any memorable event. In the autumn

Solyman marched back to Constantinople ; and his retreat left Charles at leisure to revisit Spain.

Soon after his arrival in that kingdom he began to meditate the most glorious enterprize of his reign. The throne of Algiers had been usurped by the famous corsair Heyradin Barbarossa, who carried his depredations on the Christians to an alarming and dreadful extent. This daring adventurer was the son of a potter in the Isle of Samos ; but he and his brother Horuc had abandoned that humble though honest occupation for the infamous trade of piracy. Their enterprising courage and singular success enabled them to collect twelve gallies ; and Horuc being received as the ally of the King of Algiers, murdered that Monarch and seized his sceptre. Horuc having fallen in battle, Heyradin seized his sceptre ; and in order to confirm himself on the throne of Algiers placed himself under the protection of the Ottoman Emperor, from whom he received, for his security, a body of Turkish soldiers. The fame of his naval exploits daily increasing Solyman gave him the command of his fleet. Barbarossa, who united the arts of a courtier with the boldness of a corsair, prevailed on the Sultan to sanction a plan which he had formed for the conquest of Tunis. That Moorish kingdom being distracted by the opposite

claims of two rival Princes, Barbarossa appeared on the coast with a fleet of two hundred and fifty vessels, and having expelled Muley Hascen, the reigning King, obliged the Tunifians to acknowledge Solyman as their sovereign, and himself as his viceroy.*

His next care was to strengthen the citadel of Tunis and the fort of Goletta, which commands the bay-harbour. This place he made the principal station of his fleet, and the arsenal for his naval and military stores. His depredations against the Christian states were now carried to a still greater extent: his cruisers scoured the Mediterranean; and their outrages were the subject of incessant complaint to the Emperor. Muley Hascen, the fugitive King of Tunis, having escaped to Spain, also presented himself a suppliant before the imperial throne. Animated by the thirst of fame, Charles readily yielded to the entreaties of his subjects and the solicitations of the exiled Prince. He declared his design of commanding in person the armament destined for the attack of Tunis, and the flower of his martial bands were called out on an enterprise on which his glory so greatly depended. A Flemish fleet had on board a body of German

* This was the origin of the present governments of Algiers and Tunis.

Infantry : the gallies of Sicily and Naples carried the veteran troops of Italy and Spain : Charles, with the flower of the Spanish nobility, embarked at Barcelona, and was joined by a squadron from Portugal : another squadron, though small, yet formidable from the valour of its warriors, was equipped by the Knights of Malta. Doria, with the title of high admiral, conducted the fleet ; and the Marquis de Gualto commanded the land forces under the Emperor.

A. D. 1535. About the middle of July the

armament sailed from Cagliari, in Sardinia, the place appointed for the general rendezvous ; and after a prosperous navigation, arrived on the coast of Africa. The troops, amounting to above thirty thousand in number, and chiefly composed of the veteran bands of Spain and Italy, were disembarked within sight of Tunis. Barbarossa had assembled twenty thousand horse and a considerable body of foot ; but he was aware that the light troops of Africa were unable to withstand the imperial veterans ; and his chief confidence was placed in the strength of the Goletta. That fort, which was garrisoned by six thousand Turks, under the command of Sinan, a renegado Jew, one of the bravest of the Corsairs, was immediately invested. The Germans, Italians, and Spaniards, excited by national emulation, rushed with irresistible ardour to the

attack ; and notwithstanding the skill of the governor, the resolution of the garrison, and the attempts of Barbarossa to harrafs the camp of the Christians, the breaches in the Goletta became so considerable, that Sinan, with the remnant of his foldiers, was obliged to abandon the fort and retreat into the city.

Barbarossa having collected all his forces, determined to meet his enemy in the field rather than await a siege in his capital. But he apprehended some danger from ten thousand Christian slaves whom he had shut up in the citadel. Before he marched out he represented to his officers the necessity of massacring those unfortunate men. The corsairs, though inured to scenes of blood, shrunk with horror from the proposal ; and the dread of irritating his followers deterred him from the execution of his sanguinary design. At the head of fifty thousand Moors and Arabs, he advanced to meet the imperialists. His troops rushed boldly to the encounter ; but the loose ranks of the Africans could not long withstand the shock of the regular battalions of Europe. The route soon became general ; and Barbarossa, having in vain attempted to rally his forces, was hurried along with them in their flight back to the city. The Christian slaves, in the mean while, having gained their keepers, had knocked off their fetters, overpowered the

garrison, and seized the citadel. Barbarossa, disappointed and enraged, exclaiming against the compassion of his officers and his own compliance, retired with precipitation to Bona.

As Charles was advancing towards Tunis, a messenger from the slaves informed him of their success, and deputies arrived from the city to present him the keys of the gates, and implore his protection from military outrage. But a scene ensued which is shocking to relate. Before the Emperor could take the necessary measures, the soldiers alarmed at the prospect of being deprived of the booty which they had expected, broke with impetuous precipitation into the city, and so dreadful a carnage took place, that in one day no less than thirty thousand of the inhabitants perished. Amidst those scenes of horror, Charles lamented the fatal accident which tarnished the glory of his conquest; and Muley Hascen ascended a throne surrounded with carnage. The conditions on which he received the crown were, that he should hold the kingdom of Tunis as a vassal of the empire; that he should set at liberty all the Christian slaves within his dominions of whatever nation they might be; that he should allow the free exercise of the Christian religion to the Emperor's subjects; that he should exclude the corsairs from his harbours, and that he should deliver to Charles

the Goletta, with all the maritime fortresses, and pay the annual sum of twelve thousand crowns for the subsistence of the garrison.

The sickness which prevailed in his army prevented the Emperor from pursuing Barbarossa, and obliged him to return to Spain. But this expedition spread the glory of his name throughout Europe. Twenty thousand Christians, of different nations, liberated from slavery by his arms, clothed by his bounty, and furnished with the means of returning to their respective countries, diffused the fame of his munificence, and extolled his power and abilities with all the eloquence excited by gratitude and admiration. If ever any conqueror had a right to be proud of his laurels, Charles might justly boast of this glorious achievement, the only one perhaps of all his martial enterprises on which he could look back without self reproach, and which, had not the ungovernable licentiousness of his soldiers broke through the restraints of discipline, might have been contemplated without any mixture of regret.*

Yet the successes of Charles, in Europe and Africa, however conducive to the immediate increase of his power and glory, were in their real importance and future consequences infinitely

* Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol. 3. p. 97 to 114.

inferior to those which private individuals among his subjects were making; at the same time, in the newly discovered world, at their own expense, without drawing a single shilling from his treasury. The conquest of Mexico, by Cortez, had redoubled the eagerness of the Spaniards for new enterprises. While Charles was making trifling or precarious conquests, adventurous individuals discovered and subjugated the opulent country of Peru, extending above fifteen hundred miles along the coast of the Pacific Ocean, and about the same time that the Emperor made himself master of Tunis, Pizarro founded in the new world the city of Lima.

CHAP. II.

Francis Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luque undertake the conquest of Peru.—Incredible hardships which they suffered.—Booty acquired in the Province of Coaque.—Seizure of the Inca and dreadful slaughter of the Peruvians.—Rich plunder.—Immense sums collected for the ransom of the Inca.—Execution of the Inca.—Foundation of Lima.—General insurrection of the Peruvians.—Their defeat.—Civil war between Pizarro and Almagro.—Capture and execution of Almagro.—Assassination of Pizarro.—Civil wars of Peru.—General observations on the Spanish conquests.

WHILE the banners of Charles were triumphantly displayed in Africa, and the success of his arms spread his fame throughout Europe, his adventurous subjects were annexing to the crown of Spain the most remote and most opulent regions of America. The voyages of Columbus had excited in Spain, the spirit of adventure which successive discoveries and conquests encouraged and inflamed, to a degree that is almost incredible. Among the daring adventurers who left their native shores to explore coasts and countries unknown, and to try their fortune in

another hemisphere, was Vasco Nugnez de Balboa, who, with a small company of Spaniards, after suffering a series of hardships, of which the description would excite horror, established a colony on the isthmus of Darien. The dauntless intrepidity of Balboa was such as distinguished him among his countrymen in the new world, at a period when every Spanish adventurer was conspicuous for daring courage. Being informed by an Indian Cazique that, at the distance of six suns, or six day's journey, there was another ocean, near which was situated a kingdom where gold was so abundant that it was used by the people for making their common utensils,* he immediately conceived the most sanguine hopes of acquiring wealth and eminence by new and splendid achievements. He concluded the ocean, mentioned by the Cazique, to be that for which Columbus had unsuccessfully searched, in the view of opening a passage to India, and conjectured that the rich territory which had been described must be a part of that extensive and opulent region. Balboa had now before him objects worthy of his ambition and enterprising genius. With a hundred and ninety hardy veterans, accustomed to every vicissitude of climate, and ready to face every danger, and 1000 Indians to

* This was the first information that the Spaniards obtained of Peru.

carry provisions, he traversed the lofty mountains, the putrid swamps, and almost impervious forests, of the isthmus of Darien, and was the first European that ever beheld the Pacific Ocean. After hardships, almost incredible, he arrived on its shores about the end of September 1513, and from the inhabitants of that district he collected a considerable quantity of gold and silver, and received such information concerning Peru as confirmed the Spaniards in their erroneous theory with respect to the vicinity of America to India.

But notwithstanding his impatience to visit this unknown and alluring country he found that his force was wholly inadequate to so arduous an enterprise. He led back his followers to the settlement of Santa Maria, where he arrived after an absence of four months, with greater glory than any of the adventurers had acquired since the voyages of Columbus, and more treasure than the Spaniards had at that time obtained in any of their expeditions to the new world.

From this period the enterprising mind of Balboa was intent on preparing for the discovery and conquest of the rich country of which he had received such tempting accounts. But Balboa experienced the same treatment as most of the other adventurers who performed the greatest achievements in the new world.

Through the intrigues carried on at the court of Madrid, Pedrarias Davila was sent to supercede him in his government of Darien. The subsequent marriage of Balboa with the daughter of Davila, had apparently united their interests. He was appointed Adelantado or Lieutenant Governor of the countries on the South Sea, and began to prepare for the invasion of Peru. But Pedrarias, who suspected that so important a conquest would render Balboa independent of his jurisdiction, invited him to an interview, and caused him to be arrested. A charge of treason against the King, and of an intention to revolt against the governor, being preferred against him, he was condemned to death, and by the command of Pedrarias immediately led to execution. Such was the tragical fate of Vasco Nugnez de Balboa, a man more capable of forming and executing great designs than any who had borne command in America since the time of Columbus.* After his death his vast projects were relinquished; but Pedrarias founded the city of Panama, of which the commodious situation greatly contributed to facilitate the conquest of Peru.

* Herrera, Dec. 2. lib. 4. cap. 1. Such acts of tyranny were frequently exercised by the first Spanish governors in America. At so great a distance from the mother country they scarcely acknowledged any law but that of force; and if they had sufficient interest at the court of Madrid, they found no difficulty in screening themselves from punishment, whatever might be their crimes.

In that city were settled the three persons who, at their own expense, undertook and accomplished that great enterprize. These extraordinary men were Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luque. Pizarro was the natural son of a gentleman of an honourable family, by a woman of mean extraction, and had been totally neglected by the author of his birth. Having attained to the age of manhood he enlisted as a soldier, and after serving several campaigns in Italy he embarked for America, a country which, by opening a boundless range to active talents, allured every aspiring adventurer whose fortune was not equal to his ambition. On that theatre Pizarro soon distinguished himself. With a daring mind and robust constitution he was foremost in every danger, patient under every hardship, and equal to any fatigue. He was totally illiterate; but by engaging early in active life, and by depending on himself alone in his struggles to emerge from obscurity, he had acquired a degree of experience that compensated the want of education, and fitted him for command. Almagro was of an origin not less obscure, being bred a foundling. Like Pizarro he owed his fortune to his own talents and industry, and like him trained up from his youth in camps, he equalled him in the martial qualities of intrepid valour, indefati-

gable activity, and insurmountable constancy, in supporting every kind of hardship. Hernando Luque was a priest and schoolmaster at Panama, a man of an aspiring and enterprising genius, and who, by means which the Spanish writers have not described, had acquired considerable wealth.

Such were the men who, in the decline of life,* undertook the conquest of one of the most extensive empires on the face of the globe. Pizarro and Almagro were the active leaders in the enterprise: Luque was to remain at Panama to collect adventurers and superintend whatever related to the common interest. The confederacy, formed by ambition and avarice, was confirmed by the most solemn act of religion. Luque celebrated mass, divided the consecrated host into three parts, which were received by himself and his two associates, and thus, as a judicious historian observes, "in the name of the Prince of Peace, ratified a contract of which plunder and bloodshed were the objects."

The force that was levied at first was more suited to the funds of the three adventurers than to the greatness of the enterprise. Pizarro sailed from Panama on the 14th November,

* Almagro. was sixty years of age, and Pizarro was only three or four years younger.

1525, with only one vessel and 112 seamen and soldiers. After suffering incredible hardships, and losing many of his men, he was joined by Almagro, who had followed with 70 adventurers from Panama. Both parties had undergone the same distresses, and been exposed to similar dangers. Almagro had lost an eye in a conflict with the natives of the coast of Terra Firma. No sign of discovering the golden regions of which they were in search had yet appeared. But no aspect of danger, in its most horrid forms, could induce these daring projectors to relinquish an enterprise in which they had embarked their whole fortune. Almagro repaired to Panama to recruit their shattered forces, but the undertaking had so unfavourable an aspect that he could prevail on no more than eighty men to join his perilous standard. With these he joined Pizarro, and after a series of disasters and hardships, not inferior to those which they had already experienced, they reached the coast of Quito. Here they landed, and beheld a country more inviting than any which they had yet discovered on the southern ocean, and inhabited by people clothed in garments of cotton, and adorned with trinkets of gold and silver.

The two leaders being sensible that to invade so populous a country, with so feeble a force, would be an act of unjustifiable temerity, retired

to the small island of Gallo, where Pizarro remained with part of the troops, and Almagro returned to Panama to procure reinforcements. But the governor, considering an enterprise attended with so great and certain a waste of men, as highly detrimental to an infant colony, not only prohibited the raising of new levies, but ordered Pizarro and his companions to return to Panama. The three associates, however, could not resolve to abandon an enterprise on which all their hopes were founded. Pizarro peremptorily refused to obey the orders of the governor; but his followers were so discouraged by the incredible calamities which they had suffered, that only thirteen of the whole number could be persuaded to remain with their commander. With this small but determined band, he fixed his residence in the island of Gorgona, one of the most unhealthful places in the torrid zone.* Here he remained five months, till Almagro and Luque, whose unwearied solicitations, were seconded by the general voice of the colony, prevailed on the governor to permit them to send a small vessel to his relief. On its arrival Pizarro resumed his voyage; and on the 20th day after their departure from Gorgona, the Spaniards discovered the coast of Peru.

* Herrera, Dec 3. lib. 10 cap. 3. Dampier's Voy. vol. 1. p. 173.

After sailing sometime along the shore, they landed at Tumbez, a place situated about three degrees south of the equator, and distinguished for its stately temple and a palace of the Inca. There the Spaniards had the first view of the opulence of the Peruvian empire. They beheld a country populous and fertile, and the inhabitants decently clothed ; but what chiefly attracted their notice was the profusion of gold and silver that appeared, not only in the ornaments of the temples, but in the utensils of common use. They were fully convinced that the country abounded in wealth, and hoped speedily to realize their expectations of acquiring rich domains and inexhaustible treasures. But with the slender force then under his command, Pizarro could only view this opulent country. Having maintained, for some time, a peaceable intercourse with the natives, from whom he procured some vessels of gold and silver, with various articles of curiosity, and two young men whom he intended to instruct in the Spanish language, that they might serve as interpreters, he returned to Panama, after an absence of almost three years, during which long period he and his companions had experienced a series of hardships of which words can convey only an imperfect idea.

No representations nor reasonings, however, could induce the governor of Panama to coun-

tenance an enterprize which he considered as ruinous to the colony over which he presided. But his authority could not damp the ardour of the three joint adventurers, who resolved to solicit from their sovereign that permission which they could not obtain from his delegate. They agreed that Pizarro should be sent for that purpose to Spain: that he should demand for himself the station of governor, for Almagro that of Adelantado, and for Luque the dignity of Bishop in the country which they expected to conquer. Their fortunes, however, were by this time so greatly exhausted that they were obliged to borrow the small sum that was requisite to equip him for his voyage.

On his arrival in Spain, Pizarro lost no time in repairing to court. He exhibited before Charles and his ministers specimens of the rich productions of the country which he had discovered, and so completely succeeded in his mission that he was appointed Governor, Captain-General, and Adelantado of the country which he hoped to conquer. For Luque, whose pretensions did not interfere with his own, he obtained the episcopal dignity; but he so far neglected the interests of Almagro that he procured for him only the government of a fort that was to be erected at Tumbez. Pizarro was to have the nomination of his own officers,

and engaged to prosecute the conquest at his own expense and that of his associates.

On his return to Panama, he found Almagro so greatly exasperated at the manner in which he had conducted his negotiations, that an open rupture was likely to ensue. But Pizarro, being sensible that such an event must prove fatal to their views, voluntarily offered to relinquish in his favour the office of Adelantado, and promised to solicit for him an independent government. By the interposition of Luque a reconciliation was effected, and the original contract renewed.

While Pizarro was negotiating in Spain, he had received some pecuniary aid from Cortez, who had just returned from Mexico, and was willing to promote the views of an old companion, with whose talents and courage he was perfectly acquainted. But with this seasonable supply, and their own united efforts, three small vessels, with 144 infantry and 36 horsemen, composed the whole armament which the adventurers were able to equip. With this contemptible force Pizarro did not hesitate to invade an extensive and populous empire. In the month of February, 1531, he sailed for Peru, and Almagro remained at Panama to follow with such reinforcements as he should be able to muster. Pizarro, after a voyage of thirteen days, landed at the bay of St. Matthew, a hundred miles to the

north of Tumbez ; and without losing a moment began his march towards the south, always keeping near the coast, in order to preserve his communication with the fleet. After several skirmishes with the natives he reached the province of Coaque, surprised the principal town, and seized vessels of gold and silver to the amount of 30,000 peſoes, with other spoils of considerable value.

Having acquired ſo considerable a booty, Pizarro inſtantly diſpatched one of his ſhips to Panama, with a large remittance to Almagro, and another with a conſiderable ſum to perſons of influence in the Province of Nicaragua, in the hope of alluring new adventurers by this diſplay of plunder. His expectation was not diſappointed. Having proceeded to Tumbez, he was obliged to remain there for the ſpace of three months, by reaſon of the ſickneſs which raged among his troops ; and during his ſtay about ſixty adventurers arrived from Nicaragua, in two detachments, under the command of Sebastian Benalcazar, and Hernando Soto, both of them officers of diſtinguiſhed merit. With this reinforcement, which, in his ſituation, might be deemed conſiderable, Pizarro proceeded to the mouth of the river Pura, where he erected the fort of St. Michael, the firſt Spaniſh ſettle-
ment in Peru.

At the time when Pizarro invaded Peru, that empire was involved in a civil war between Huescar and Atahualpa, the two sons of Huana Capac, the twelfth of the Incas. The former was by the female, as well as the male line, descended from the pure blood of the Incas: the mother of the latter was the daughter of the vanquished monarch of Quito. Huana Capac had divided between them his dominions, assigning Quito to Atahualpa: Huescar claimed the whole; but Atahualpa proved victorious in the field, and made a cruel use of his victory. Conscious of the defect in his own title to the crown of Peru, he endeavoured to exterminate the royal race by putting to death all the children of the sun* that he could get into his hands by force or by stratagem: only the fate of his rival, Huescar, who had been made prisoner, was for some time postponed through political motives. While the Spaniards were advancing with so little opposition, the contest had not yet been brought to a termination, and the two competitors, though they had received intelligence of this singular invasion, were so intent on the operations of a war which they deemed of greater

* The family of the Incas were denominated children of the Sun, being the descendants of Mango Capac, founder of the Peruvian empire, who pretended to derive his origin from that luminary, which was worshiped by the Peruvians.

importance, that they paid little attention to the motions of this handful of foreign enemies.

The first correct information concerning the state of Peruvian affairs was obtained by the Spaniards from messengers sent from Huescar to Pizarro, to solicit his aid against Atahualpa, whom he represented as a rebel and an usurper. Pizarro immediately foresaw the advantage that might be derived from this divided state of the empire ; and without waiting for the supplies which he expected from Panama, he resolved to push forward while intestine discord afforded him so favourable an opportunity of success. Having placed a small garrison in fort St. Michael, he began his march with no more than sixty-two horsemen and 102 foot soldiers, of whom only three were armed with muskets, and twenty with cross-bows. With this slender and ill accoutred train, he directed his course towards Caxamalca, where Atahualpa was encamped. On the way he was met by an officer dispatched from the Inca with a valuable present, accompanied by an offer of alliance, and an assurance of a friendly reception at Caxamalca. Pizarro, following the example of Cortez in Mexico, pretended to come as ambassador from a powerful monarch, and declared that he was advancing for the purpose of offering to Atahualpa his aid against those who disputed his title to the crown.

But amidst these professions of friendship Pizarro formed a plan equally perfidious and daring. From the advantages which Cortez had derived from seizing Montezuma, he calculated the consequences of having the Inca in his power, and he resolved to invite that Prince to an interview, in order to make himself master of his person.

On entering Caxamalca Pizarro took possession of a court or square, on one side of which was a palace of the Inca, and on the other a temple of the Sun, the whole being encompassed by a rampart of earth. Having taken this advantageous position, he sent his brother Ferdinand, and Hernando Soto, to the camp of Atahualpa, to invite him to an interview.* They were treated with a splendid hospitality; and the Inca promised to visit the Spanish commander. The order of the Peruvian court, and the profound respect which was paid to the monarch, struck them with astonishment; but what chiefly attracted their notice was the profusion of gold and silver which was displayed in the camp. The reports of these officers confirmed Pizarro in his resolution of seizing the Inca, and he prepared for the execution of his design with the most deliberate arrangement. He divided his cavalry into three small squadrons, under the command of his

* The Inca's camp was about three miles from Caxamalca.

brother Ferdinand, Benalcazar, and Hernando Soto; the infantry were formed in one body, except twenty men of the most daring courage, whom he kept near his own person to support him in the important and dangerous service which he reserved for himself; the cross-bow men and the artillery, consisting of two field-pieces, were placed opposite to the avenue by which the Inca was to approach; and in this order all were commanded to wait the signal for action.

The 16th day of November, 1532, was infamously distinguished by an act, the most bloody and atrocious, that stains the Spanish name amidst all the deeds of violence committed by the conquerors of the new world. Atahualpa advanced to the interview in all the pomp of Peruvian magnificence. The whole camp was in motion: four hundred men in an uniform dress led the procession, which moved slowly and in regular order. The Inca, sitting on a throne or couch, adorned with the most beautiful plumes, and almost covered with plates of gold and silver, enriched with precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of his attendants. Behind him was some of his principal courtiers, who were carried in a similar manner. Bands of singers and dancers accompanied the cavalcade, and the whole plain was covered with troops.

On the approach of the Inca, Father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand and a breviary in the other, and in a long harangue explained to him the doctrines of the creation of the world; the fall of man; the incarnation, death, and resurrection of Christ; the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope as God's Vicegerent on earth; and the donation made by Alexander VI. to the crown of Spain of all the American regions. This oration, involving deep mysteries, and alluding to unknown facts, of which it was impossible at once to convey distinct ideas to an American, was, by an unskilful interpreter, rendered still more incomprehensible. The conclusion, however, was of obvious meaning. Father Valverde required the Inca to embrace christianity, and acknowledge the King of Spain as his sovereign; promising him protection and permission to exercise the royal authority in case of compliance, and denouncing war and extermination in case of refusal.

The answer of Atahualpa to these requisitions was such as might be expected from a monarch of Peru. He said that he could not conceive how a foreign priest could pretend to the disposal of territories which did not belong to him: that he felt no inclination to renounce the religion of his country or to worship the God

of the Spaniards, instead of the Sun, the immortal divinity of the Peruvians: that with respect to the other matters contained in this discourse, as he had never heard of them before, and did not understand their meaning, he requested to know where Valverde had learned things which appeared so extraordinary. "In this book," answered the monk, reaching to him his breviary. The Inca, opening the book, turned over the leaves, and placed it close to his ear. "This," said he, "is silent, it tells me nothing." He then threw the book disdainfully on the ground. Valverde, running to his countrymen, cried, "To arms, Christians, to arms! the word of God is insulted!"

A horrid scene instantly ensued. Pizarro gave the signal of assault. The martial music struck up; the cannon and musquetry commenced their fire: the horse made a furious charge; and the infantry rushed on sword in hand. The astonished Peruvians, not expecting an attack, were unprepared for resistance. Dismayed by the destructive effects of the fire arms, and the irresistible impression of the cavalry, they fled with consternation. Pizarro, at the head of his select band, pushed forward with resistless impetuosity, and seizing the Inca, while numbers of the Peruvian nobles fell in his defence, drag-

ged him from his seat, and carried him prisoner to the quarters. The Spaniards, pursuing the fugitives, continued the massacre with unrelenting barbarity. Four thousand of the Peruvians were cruelly butchered: not a single Spaniard was killed, nor was one wounded, except Pizarro himself, who received a slight hurt in the hand during the struggle for seizing the Inca. The carnage of this bloody day reflects an indelible disgrace on the memory of Pizarro. Father Valverde, a minister of the gospel of peace, was an instigator of the carnage; and as he acted so differently from the rest of the Spanish ecclesiastics, who invariably reprobated the exercise of cruelty to the Americans, his conduct, appreciated by humanity and candour, must condemn his name to everlasting infamy.*

The spoils of the field, rich beyond any conception which the Spaniards had yet formed of the wealth of Peru, were sufficient to stifle every sentiment of compunction in the hearts of the murderers, had they been susceptible of any such impression. But prospects more dazzling soon opened to their eyes. Atahualpa soon discovered the ruling passion of the Spaniards,

* Vide Robertson's Hist. Amer. vol. 3. note 130. For the number of Peruvians slain, vide note 131. Ibid.

and by applying to their avarice attempted to recover his liberty. He offered a ransom which excited their astonishment. The room in which he was confined was twenty-two feet in length, by sixteen in breadth, and he offered to fill it as high as he could reach with vessels of gold. The tempting proposal being eagerly accepted, Atahualpa sent commissioners to different parts of his dominions to collect the stipulated treasure. The temples of the Sun and the palaces of the Incas were stripped of their ornaments to obtain the liberty of the monarch; but before the whole quantity could be amassed, the soldiers became impatient to divide the rich booty. About the same time Almagro arrived with a reinforcement of new adventurers, almost equal in number to those which Pizarro already commanded. These recruits demanded an equal share with the soldiers who had followed Pizarro; and their claim not being admitted by the veteran part of the army, some altercation ensued. At length it was agreed to bestow a donative of 100,000 pesos on those who had come with Almagro, and after setting apart the fifth as the tax due to the crown, there remained 1,528,000 pesos to Pizarro and his veterans. The general and the other officers having received shares in proportion to their rank, eight thousand pesos fell to the share of every

horseman, and 4000 to each foot soldier.* History furnishes no instance of so great and sudden an acquisition of wealth by military enterprise.

But many of the soldiers, thus suddenly enriched, were impatient to retire from scenes of hardship and danger to the enjoyment of ease and opulence. Pizarro, sensible that from such men he could expect neither enterprise in action nor fortitude in suffering, and that wherever they went the display of their wealth would allure new adventurers, granted their request, and above sixty of them returned to Panama.

The Spaniards having divided among them the treasure amassed for the ransom of the Inca, that unfortunate Prince expected to recover his liberty. But Pizarro had never intended to fulfil his engagement. In his compact with Atahualpa he had no other object than to induce the captive monarch to lend his authority towards collecting the riches of his empire. Having accomplished this purpose, he considered his detention as no longer useful, but his liberation as dangerous; and finding the trouble of guard-

* The plunder of Constantinople, when captured by the French and Venetian Croisaders, A. D. 1204, amounted to 1,800,000*l.* and the concealed booty to almost an equal sum. Gibbon's *Dec. Rom. Emp.* vol. 2. p. 234; but the number of the conquerors being beyond comparison greater, the individual shares were much less than on this occasion.

ing him an incumbrance which greatly increased the fatigue of service among so small a body of troops, he resolved to put him to death. Pizarro was also alarmed by accounts of forces assembling in the remote provinces, and suspected that Atahualpa had issued orders for that purpose. These suspicions were fomented by Philippillo, one of the Indians whom Pizarro had formerly carried from Tumbez, and whom he employed as an interpreter. This man having placed his affections on one of the wives of Atahualpa, and seeing no prospect of gratifying his wishes during the life of that monarch, endeavoured to forward his destruction by alarming the Spaniards with accounts of his secret designs and preparations. At the same time Almagro and his followers were apprehensive that as long as the Inca remained a prisoner, Pizarro's soldiers would apply whatever plunder should be acquired to make up what was wanting of the quantity stipulated for his ransom, and under that pretext exclude them from their share, and on that account they loudly insisted on putting him to death.

While so many circumstances concurred to the destruction of this unfortunate Prince, he is said to have accelerated his fate by his own indiscretion. Among all the European arts, he most admired that of reading and writing, and in

order to discover whether it was a natural or acquired talent, he requested one of the soldiers, who guarded him, to write the name of God on the nail of his thumb. This he shewed successively to several of the Spaniards, and asking its meaning, they all returned the same answer. But on shewing it to Pizarro, the general was obliged to acknowledge his ignorance. Atahualpa was then convinced that the knowledge of letters was an acquired talent, and from that time considering Pizarro as a mean person less instructed than many of his soldiers, did not sufficiently dissemble the contempt with which he was inspired by this discovery. This circumstance, which mortified the pride of Pizarro, excited his resentment, and is supposed, by Herrera, to have contributed to decide the fate of the Inca.

In order to give some colour of justice to this extraordinary procedure, Atahualpa was brought to a public trial. Pizarro, Almagro, and two assistants, sat as judges. Before this strange tribunal various charges were preferred against the Inca. He was accused of usurping the throne of Peru, of having murdered his brother and lawful sovereign, of being an idolater, of keeping many concubines, of giving orders for embezzling or concealing the royal treasures which belonged to the conquerors, and of exciting his

subjects to rebellion against the crown of Spain.* on these extraordinary charges he was pronounced guilty, and condemned to be burnt alive; but on his consenting to receive baptism, that cruel sentence was mitigated, and he suffered death by strangling. To the honour of the Spanish character, however, it ought to be observed that, even in this unprincipled band of desperadoes, there were some who not only remonstrated but protested against these proceedings, which they considered as unjust, and disgraceful to their country.

On the death of Atahualpa, one of his sons was vested, by Pizarro, with the ensigns of royalty. The Peruvian nobles, and the inhabitants of Cuzco, placed Manco Capac, the brother of Huefcar, on the throne of the Incas; but the civil commotions and the Spanish invasion had dissolved the frame of the Government, and ambitious men, in different parts of the empire,

* Of all these charges, that which related to his brother Huefcar could alone be deemed reasonable. That Prince was in confinement at Cuzco, when Atahualpa was seized by the Spaniards, and the latter had afterwards sent orders to put him to death. But it may be observed that Huefcar had been the original aggressor in attempting to deprive Atahualpa of the sovereignty of Quito, to which he had a double right by the testament of his father, and by inheritance from his mother. The subsequent endeavours of Atahualpa to exterminate the blood royal of Peru, deserved, in a moral point of view, the severest punishment, although for these crimes he could not be regarded as amenable to a Spanish tribunal. The sufferings of the great, so generally lamented in tragedy and history, are often justly merited, though sometimes illegally inflicted.

usurped the sovereign authority. While the Peruvians were weakened by their intestine divisions, the Spaniards received a very considerable accession of strength. The calculations of Pizarro, in discharging such of his soldiers as wished to retire after receiving their share of the Incas ransom, were verified by the event. As soon as they arrived at Panama, and displayed their riches in the view of their countrymen, fame spread the report through all the Spanish settlements on the South Sea, and excited so romantic ideas that the governors could scarcely restrain the people from abandoning their estates, and crowding to that inexhaustible source of wealth which seemed to be opened in Peru. In spite of every restriction that could be imposed, so many adventurers arrived that Pizarro soon saw himself at the head of five hundred men, besides a considerable garrison left in St. Michael. Being thus reinforced, he advanced towards Cuzco, the capital of the empire. The Peruvians had assembled large bodies of troops to oppose his progress, and several engagements took place. But all these actions terminated with little loss on the side of the Spaniards, and a terrible slaughter of their enemies. At length Pizarro forced his way to Cuzco, and entered the city without opposition. A great quantity of treasure was found in that capital after all that the in-

habitants had carried off and concealed. According to Herrera the plunder of Cuzco being shared among 480 men, each received 4000 pesos after the King's fifth was deducted ; and all the Spanish historians agree that the whole sum exceeded the value of the Inca's ransom. The conquest of Quito yielded a far less plentiful harvest. Benaleazar reduced that province about the same time that Pizarro took possession of Cuzco. But here the Spaniards met with a severe disappointment. In their long and difficult march from fort St. Michael, through a mountainous country, in some places covered with woods, in others intersected by rivers and swamps, they had sustained the frequent attacks of the best troops in Peru ; but on their arrival at Quito they found that the inhabitants, knowing the predominant passion of the invaders, and resolving to frustrate their views, had carried off all their treasures, the prospect of which had prompted the Spaniards to undertake this arduous expedition.

During these transactions Ferdinando Pizarro, who had been dispatched with valuable presents to Spain, obtained for his brother the confirmation of his government of the country extending six hundred miles along the coast ; for Almagro a jurisdiction of about the same extent to the southward of Pizarro's province, and for himself

admission into the military order of St. Jago. The riches which he carried with him to Spain redoubled the spirit of enterprise, and a number of adventurers accompanied him on his return to Peru.

These grants of extensive jurisdiction and power, which might have satisfied the most aspiring ambition, served to excite dissention among the conquerors. Almagro pretended that Cuzco was within the limits of his government, and Pizarro refusing to admit his claim, their jarring pretensions threatened to produce a civil war in the colony. This calamity, however, was, for a short time, averted by a reconciliation between the two leaders; and Almagro undertook to attempt the conquest of Chili, while Pizarro employed himself in regulating the internal affairs of Peru. In this interval of leisure, A. D. 1535, Pizarro founded the city of Lima, which he made the seat of his government.* Here he erected for himself a magnificent palace; which, with the stately houses built by his officers, contributed to give the rising city an early appearance of grandeur. In the mean while Almagro, with a body of five hundred and seventy men, had penetrated into Chili by long and difficult marches, in which his troops had

* The first stone was laid on the 18th January, 1535.

experienced all the miseries that can arise from fatigue and famine. Notwithstanding the determined resistance which he met with from the natives, he had made a considerable progress into the country, but he had formed no settlement; and the issue of the expedition still remained doubtful, when unexpected events recalled him to Peru.

The son of Atahualpa, whom Pizarro had vested with the ensigns of royalty, died during the march towards Cuzco; and after the Spaniards took possession of that capital, Manco Capac, whom the Peruvians acknowledged as Inca, was, through motives of policy, suffered to enjoy his title, and to reside in the palace of his ancestors. This Prince, observing that the Spanish troops were dispersed in small bodies, that some of them were employed in distant expeditions, and that only a very small number remained in Cuzco, began to consider these circumstances as affording a favourable opportunity for asserting the independence of his throne, and extirpating the invaders. Though strictly watched by the Spaniards he found means to make his escape from Cuzco. The royal standard was erected, and all the warriors of Peru were soon in arms. The Spaniards, settled on the estates allotted them, were every where massacred: several of their scattered

detachments were cut off: and the three brothers of the general, Juan, Ferdinand, and Gonzalo Pizarro, with only a hundred and seventy men, were besieged in Cuzco by an army of 200,000 Peruvians. Another formidable body invested Lima, and kept the governor closely shut up. All communication was cut off by the numerous forces of the Peruvians spreading over the country, and the two parties of Spaniards in Cuzco and Lima were totally ignorant of each others condition. The greatest efforts were made against Cuzco: the Inca commanded in person, and during the space of nine months the siege was carried on with incessant ardour, and some of the operations were conducted in such a manner as discovered in the Peruvians a considerable degree of sagacity. Notwithstanding the valour of the Spaniards, which was suited to their desperate situation, Manco Capac made himself master of one half of the city, and Juan Pizarro, with several other officers fell in the contest. But while the Spaniards began to despair of making a much longer resistance, Almagro suddenly appeared before Cuzco. By the same messenger that brought him intelligence of the general revolt of the Peruvians, he had received the royal patent, which defined the limits of his government in such a manner as made it appear manifest that Cuzco lay within his

jurisdiction. He had therefore two important objects in view—first to prevent the Peruvians from recovering possession of the capital, and in the next place to wrest it out of the hands of the Pizarros ; both which designs he successfully accomplished. After a long and extremely fatiguing march from Chili to Cuzco, he totally defeated the Inca, and dispersed the Peruvian army. The Pizarros, however, resolved to oppose his entrance ; but many of their adherents secretly inclined to his interests. Encouraged by the knowledge of their sentiments Almagro approached the city in the night, and being admitted almost without opposition, immediately invested the quarters of the two brothers, and forced them to surrender at discretion.

At this period the conquest of Peru may be considered as completed. In order to preserve the unity of the subject it requires some chronological anticipation to delineate a slight sketch of subsequent events. The reduction of this opulent empire was followed by a series of civil wars among the conquerors. The two principal leaders were endowed with the same fearless courage ; but the character of Almagro was frank and open, while in that of Pizarro the craftiness of the politician was joined to the intrepidity of the soldier ; and he owed his triumph over his rival to artifice and perfidy as

much as to arms. The contest, however, was finally decided in the field, and Almagro being taken prisoner in battle, was, by the command of Pizarro, publicly beheaded in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

Pizarro, now seeing himself the sole master of Peru, parcelled out the extensive territory of that vast empire among the conquerors. Large districts in the most cultivated and populous parts of the country were reserved as his own property, or allotted to his brothers and his favourites: others had estates assigned to them in proportion to their rank.* But the followers of Almagro, among whom were many of the original adventurers, to whose valour Pizarro was indebted for the conquest of the country, were totally excluded from any share in the lands towards the acquisition of which they had so largely contributed.

The Spaniards, in the mean while, extended on every side their discoveries and conquests. Pedro de Valdivia resumed Almagro's project of conquering Chili, and though he perished at last in the enterprise, he had, before his death, founded the city of St. Jago, and given a begin-

* The estate allotted to Gonzalo Pizarro was of a greater annual value than the Archbishopric of Toledo, the richest see in Europe: Herrer. Dec. lib. 6. cap. 3.

ning to the Spanish dominion in that country. Gonzalo Pizarro undertook an expedition across the Andes, and penetrated 1200 miles to the east of Quito; but finding only uncultivated countries inhabited by savages, he returned, after having suffered greater hardships than had been experienced by any of the other adventurers in the new world.*

The Almagrians, seeing themselves proscribed by the ruling party, and reduced to extreme poverty, although surrounded with the opulence which their swords had contributed to acquire for their oppressors, only waited for the moment of vengeance. Almagro had left a son, who, although young, seemed to be formed for command. This young man afforded them a point of union: at his house in Lima they held their consultations; and having matured their plan, the day and the hour were appointed for carrying it into execution. On Sunday, the 26th of June, 1541, a little past noon, the hour of silence and repose in hot climates, Herrado, an officer of daring courage, at the head of eighteen of the

* Gonzalo having constructed a bark in order to facilitate his progress by the rivers, Francis Orellana, one of his principal officers, had the command of this vessel, which was manned with fifty soldiers. But Orellana, abandoning his general, sailed down the Napo, the Maragnon, and the river of Amazons, and arrived safely in Spain. For an account of this voyage, the first that was made down the river of Amazons, vide Herr. Dec. 6, 7.

most determined conspirators, all in complete armour, rushed into the governor's palace. Pizarro, whose steady mind no danger could ever appal, retired to an inner apartment, and, supported by a few of his friends, defended the entry with an intrepidity worthy of his former exploits. Here, with his sword and buckler, he long maintained the unequal contest against men covered with armour. But all his defenders being killed by his side, or mortally wounded, he was no longer able to parry the numerous weapons by which he was assailed, and the celebrated conqueror of Peru fell under the repeated strokes of the conspirators, after having at more than seventy years of age displayed all the vigour of a youthful combatant. The assassins instantly ran out into the street, and waving their bloody swords, proclaimed the death of the tyrant. They were immediately joined by above two hundred of their associates who had been placed in proper stations ; and young Almagro, being conducted in solemn procession through the city, was acknowledged governor of Peru. The palaces of Pizarro and his adherents were plundered ; and the Almagrians had the double satisfaction of avenging their own wrongs, and enriching themselves with the spoils of their oppressors.

The commotions in Peru had already attracted the attention of the court of Madrid ; and Vaca

de Castro, having been sent to assume the government, erected the royal standard soon after the death of Pizarro. By his influence and address he assembled a considerable body of troops, and excited divisions among those of the adverse party. Almagro, however, determined to meet him in the field. The contest was decided in a bloody action, in which most of the combatants on both sides were killed or wounded. But the Almagrians were defeated, and their leader, who made his escape from the field, being betrayed by some of his officers, was afterwards taken, and with above forty of his principal adherents beheaded at Cuzco.

In the mean while new regulations were made by the court of Madrid, and De Castro was superceded by a new Viceroy. But among the conquerors of Peru, who were so far removed from the seat of government, a spirit of licentiousness and turbulence prevailed more than among any other body of adventurers in the new world. They alleged that as the crown had contributed nothing towards their expenses it had no right to expect much from their success, and after acknowledging the sovereignty of the King of Spain, and paying the royal fifth of the gold and silver, they claimed the management of their own concerns. Amidst these discontents, Blasco Nugnez de Vela arrived from Spain

with the patent of Viceroy. Gonzalo Pizarro erected the standard of revolt, and having taken the Viceroy prisoner in battle, cut off his head and placed it on a gibbet. At this time the number of Spaniards, in Peru, had, by the constant influx of adventurers, increased to above six thousand,* all of them ready to engage in any desperate enterprise; and had Gonzalo followed the counsel of Francis Carvajal, who had advised him to marry the heiress of the family of the Incas, and thus uniting the two nations, to erect an independent sovereignty, he might probably have set the power of the parent country at defiance. The advice, however, was neglected, and Pedro de la Gasca, an ecclesiastic, being sent with full powers from Spain, attempted, by conciliatory measures, to restore tranquillity. The new Viceroy, however, soon perceived that the rebels must be reduced by arms. He collected troops from Nicaragua, Carthagena, and other settlements, and at the head of these he took the field against Pizarro. A bloody war ensued. After several desperate actions, fought with various success, Gonzalo Pizarro, being deserted by his army, was, in the year 1548, taken prisoner and publicly beheaded. Carvajal, and others of his principal officers, expired on the

* Herrera Dec. 8. lib. 3. c. 1.

gallows. Thus ended the civil wars which had, for more than nine years, been carried on among the Spaniards of Peru. During their continuance, almost all the original adventurers who had conquered that opulent country, and by daring courage and indefatigable perseverance amidst hardships and difficulties, had acquired ample, and some of them princely fortunes, fell by each other's swords, or by the hand of the executioner. The consummate prudence of Gasca put an end to intestine commotion.* Turbulent soldiers were succeeded by peaceful planters, and Peru gradually sunk into a tranquil and obedient province.

During the time employed in the reduction of Mexico and Peru, the two principal branches of the Spanish American empire, the countries of Terra Firma, the new kingdom of Grenada, one of the richest of their possessions, Chili, and other provinces, were conquered and colonized. So active was the spirit of enterprise among the Spaniards of that age, that in about half a century almost the whole of their vast dominions in America were subjected to the sceptre of Spain by the efforts of a few private adventurers, whose achievements have produced effects that

* The services of Gasca were rewarded with the Bishopric of Placentia. Robertson's Hist. Amer. vol. 3, p. 112.

will have a continual, perceptible, and probably increasing operation as long as the world shall exist; while in Europe her monarchs, her ministers, and her generals, were engaged in political schemes and military transactions which have passed away without leaving any lasting impression.*

* The conduct and fate of the Spanish conquerors of Peru strikingly exemplify the observations of an eminent writer: "The miser's love of gold is never quenched, his throat is the mouth of hell, which is never satisfied till death shuts up the damned gulph! Infatiable avarice! Cursed thirst of gold! What hazards will not men run: what crimes will they not commit for gold!" Jackson's Beauties of Nature, &c.

CHAP. III.

Charles engages in a new war against France.—His unsuccessful invasion of Provence.—Mutiny of his armies.—The Cortes are new modelled.—Despotism established in Spain.—Revolt of Ghent.—Disastrous expedition of Charles to Algiers.—Re-commences hostilities against France.—Charles resigns his dominions to his son Philip.—His mode of life in his retirement.—His death.—His character.—Effects of his reign.

THE Emperor had no sooner returned from Africa than he found himself again involved in a war with France. But, on this occasion, he experienced a considerable reverse of fortune. He succeeded in recovering, for the Duke of Savoy, a part of his dominions which had been seized by the French; but his subsequent operations were only a series of disasters. His great plan was the invasion of France from two opposite quarters: he had directed an army of Flemings to enter Picardy, while he himself should penetrate from Italy into Provence. The wisest of his ministers and generals disapproved of the latter part of this plan, and represented the danger that would ensue from leading an

army into Provence to such a distance from his magazines. But Charles obstinately adhering to his own opinion, slighted their remonstrances, and blinded by that presumption which often accompanies prosperity, ordered the historian, Jovius, to make a large provision of paper in order to record the victories which delusive fancy painted in glowing colours.* These brilliant scenes, however, proved merely ideal; and the Emperor found it more easy to build castles in the air than on the ground.

A. D. 1536. Francis had his plans ready formed for distressing the invaders. Confining himself to defensive operations, he ordered his general, Montmorency, to throw garrisons into the towns of greatest strength, and to deprive the enemy of subsistence by laying waste the country. The plan was executed with the most rigid punctuality; and when Charles entered Provence he was struck with the silence and desolation that reigned from the Alps to Marseilles. The country stripped of cattle and grain, presented a dreary prospect to the invaders; and his fleet long detained by contrary winds, afforded at last but a scanty supply. At the end of two months he found himself obliged to retreat from the territories of France, after

* Henault Ab. Chron. An. 1536.

losing more than half of his army by famine and disease, without fighting a battle.

While Charles thus ingloriously retreated from Provence, the Flemings were repulsed on the side of Picardy; and the Germans refused to second the ambition of an Emperor whose power they dreaded. The ensuing year produced a suspension of arms: the enmity of the two monarchs had exceeded their resources: their coffers were exhausted by their long and bloody

A. D. 1538.

wars; and at length, through the mediation of Paul III. a truce for ten years was concluded. A few days after the treaty was signed at Nice, the Emperor, having embarked for Barcelona, was driven by a storm on the coast of Provence. On this occasion Charles and Francis had an interview at Aigues Mortes, where these two great rivals, after twenty years of inveterate hostility, shewed all the marks of a cordial reconciliation.

The suspension of foreign war was far from being attended with internal tranquillity. Charles had scarcely arrived in Spain before the troops, to whom very considerable arrears were due, broke out into open sedition. The garrison of the Goletta threatened to deliver up that fortress to Barbároffa; the forces in Italy plundered the Milaneze: those in Sicily pillaged the most opulent cities; and the imperial armie's almost

every where exhibited scenes of mutiny and disorder.* These insurrections were quelled by the prudence and address of the generals, who, by borrowing money in their own name and that of the Emperor, and by extorting large sums from the provinces, found means to discharge the arrears, and to prevent the recurrence of a similar danger, disbanded the greatest part of the troops, a circumstance which, how wonderful soever it may appear at the present day, frequently occurred during the course of this reign.

In this exhausted state of his finances, Charles assembled the Cortes at Toledo, and used all his endeavours to awaken their liberality. Having represented the extraordinary expenses of his military operations and the exigency of his affairs, he proposed to raise supplies by a general excise on commodities. But the Spaniards who had seen, with regret, their country drained of its wealth, and its inhabitants, in order to fight battles in which the nation was not interested, resolved not to furnish their sovereign with the means of commencing new wars. The nobles, in particular, being sensible that in case of an excise they must bear a part of the burden proportioned to their consumption, inveighed

* *Herreras lib. 9. p. 209.*

with vehemence against the measure as an encroachment on the privileges of their order, which was wholly exempt from taxation. They demanded a conference with the representatives of the cities; and they insisted that if Charles would, like his predecessors, reside constantly in Spain, and attend to the affairs of the kingdom without entangling himself in a multitude of transactions foreign to its interests, the stated revenues of the crown would be fully sufficient to defray the expenses of government. Arguments, entreaties, and promises, were employed without success: they remained inflexible, and

A. D. 1539. Charles dismissed them with indignation. This may be considered as the fatal period of the liberties of Spain. From that time neither the nobles nor the prelates were called to the Cortes: the reason alleged for their exclusion was that those who refused to pay any share of the taxes could have no claim to vote in laying them on. It appears, indeed, that the Spanish monarchs, especially Ferdinand and Charles, seldom desired to see those assemblies, except when money was wanted, or some important interest of the crown was concerned. In consequence of the exclusion of the aristocratical order, the Cortes were new modelled, none being admitted but the representatives of eighteen cities, two for each community, com-

posing an assembly of thirty-six persons at the absolute devotion of the court. The nobles beheld, too late, and with ineffectual regret, the imprudence with which they had assisted the crown in crushing the commons, and discovered that the issue of the war against the Junta had eventually proved fatal to the aristocracy as well as to the people. The nobles, however, although they had lost their political influence as a body, still prided themselves on their individual privileges which they maintained, for some time, with a peculiar haughtiness. But at length overawed by standing armies, and corrupted by places and pensions, they sunk into the obsequious servants of the crown. Philip II. completed the fabric of despotism, of which Charles V. had so firmly laid the foundation; and the wealth of America was employed in extinguishing the liberties of Spain, which, from being the most free, became one of the most despotic governments in Europe.*

* "The union of the kingdoms of Castile and Arragon, and the vast dominions which the Kings of Spain, about the same time, acquired, together with the wealth of the Indies, gave to the crown a sudden and unforeseen preponderance, which became so powerful as to break down, in a very short time, all the barriers erected by the prudence of our ancestors for securing the liberties of their posterity: the royal authority, like the sea bursting over its boundaries, submerged the whole monarchy, and the will of the King and his ministers became the universal law." *Lettre aux Espagnols Americains par Don Juan Pablo Viscardo y Gulman.* p. 23.

While the Cortes of Spain were making the last display of their freedom, the citizens of Ghent went to still greater lengths, and refused to be included in a vote of supply of the states of the united provinces, of which their representatives were members. Charles having returned a haughty answer to the deputies, who were sent to urge their pretensions, the Ghentois flew to arms, seized the imperial officers, and erecting the standard of rebellion, offered to the King of France the sovereignty of their city.* This revolt and the consequent negotiation gave the Emperor no small degree of uneasiness. By his customary arts, and the cession of the Milaneze, he not only secured the neutrality of Francis, but obtained of that Prince the permission to pass through his dominions in his way to the Netherlands. Charles set out with a splendid train of about a hundred persons: in all the towns of France, through which he passed, he was received with great magnificence and extraordinary honours; and at Chatelherault he was met by the French monarch, with whom he proceeded to Paris. After a stay of only six days in that capital he proceeded to the Netherlands, and placing himself at the head of a

* The city of Ghent was famous for its frequent rebellions. Sleidanc's Comm. fol. 171.

numerous army collected from different quarters, advanced to Ghent. The inhabitants, unable to resist his arms, implored his clemency; but he did not treat the city with that tenderness which it might have seemed natural to shew to the place of his nativity. Twenty-six of the principal citizens were condemned to capital punishment, and a greater number was sent into exile. The city was declared to have forfeited all its immunities and privileges: its revenues were confiscated, its ancient form of government was abolished, and a strong citadel was erected to bridle the turbulent spirit of its inhabitants.* By these rigorous proceedings towards the citizens of Ghent, Charles set an awful example of severity to his other subjects in the Netherlands. But no sooner was this rebellion crushed, and his authority firmly re-established, than he refused the cession of the Milaneze to Francis, and even denied that he had entered into so absurd an engagement. This duplicity and ingratitude towards a monarch who had entertained him with so much generosity and magnificence, contributed to render his sincerity suspected by all the neighbouring Princes, and has fixed an eternal blemish on his memory.

* Sleidane's Comm. b. 13, fol. 171.

The Emperor having re-established the tranquillity of the Netherlands, directed his attention to the affairs of Germany. The Diet at Ratisbon opened with a conference between the Catholic and the Protestant divines; but, as it generally happens in religious disputes, neither party was convinced. The most satisfactory conclusion was that both concurred in granting liberal supplies for carrying on a war against the Turks; and Charles having nothing to fear on the side of Germany, prepared for the execution of an enterprize which he had long meditated, and from which former experience taught him to expect fresh laurels.

On taking the command of the Ottoman fleet, Barbarossa had committed the government of Algiers to Hascen Aga, a renegado eunuch, a person of the most daring and desperate courage, and the most restless activity. In his depredations on the Christian states Hascen surpassed, if possible, Barbarossa himself in boldness and cruelty. The trade of the Mediterranean was almost annihilated; and the coasts of Spain were continually alarmed by his numerous cruisers. The complaints of his subjects, and the remembrance of his glorious expedition to Tunis, inflamed Charles with the desire of conquering Algiers. He collected a force adequate to the magnitude of the object; and such indeed as could not fail of

inspiring the most confident hope of success. It consisted of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, mostly veteran troops, three thousand volunteers, the flower of the Spanish and Italian nobility, and a thousand soldiers from Malta led by a hundred of the Knights. So sanguine were his expectations that notwithstanding the remonstrances of his admiral, Andrew Doria, who represented the danger of approaching the African coast at so advanced a season of the year, he sailed from Sardinia, the place of general rendezvous, and after a tempestuous navigation cast anchor not far from Algiers. Having landed his troops he immediately advanced towards the city, and every thing seemed to promise an easy conquest.

To oppose this formidable invasion, conducted by the greatest monarch in christendom, Hascen Aga had only eight hundred Turkish soldiers and five thousand Moors. This motley band might well be despised by a Prince who had vanquished Barbarossa at the head of an army ten times more numerous. But the triumph which the expectation of Charles had already anticipated was snatched from him by a calamity against which no human efforts were of any avail. On the second day after his landing a tempest arose, which increased towards night to an extraordinary degree of violence; and the soldiers,

who had brought nothing on shore but their arms, were exposed to all its fury. Their camp was inundated, and the whole army was involved in the greatest distress. At the dawn of day, Hascen sallied forth from the city, and with his troops, fresh and vigorous, scattered slaughter and dismay through the ranks of the benumbed and disheartened Christians, until the Emperor, advancing in person, with the main body of his army, with difficulty compelled him to sound a retreat.

At sea the effects of the hurricane were still more dreadful. The ships, driven from their anchors, were dashed in pieces against the rocks, or overwhelmed in the waves. Fifteen ships of war, and a hundred and forty transports, with eight thousand men had perished;* and such of the crews as escaped the sea were massacred by the Arabs as soon as they reached the land. Nothing could exceed the consternation of the imperialists, on perceiving the destruction of their fleet, on which their subsistence and safety depended. It was doubtful whether as many vessels could be saved as would suffice to transport the remnant of the army to Europe; and another night was passed in anxiety and despair.† In the morning a dispatch from the admiral arrived

* Sleidane says very many ships, without giving the number. Book 14. fol. 185.

† Sleidane estimates the Emperor's loss at no more than two or three thousand men, which estimate must refer only to the land forces, Comm. book 14. fol. 185.

with intelligence of his having weathered the storm, and with the shattered remains of the fleet reached Cape Metafuz, to which place he advised the Emperor to march with all possible speed, in order to effect the re-embarkation of the troops.

The gleam of hope which this information afforded, was clouded by a prospect of tremendous difficulties. Cape Metafuz was at the distance of three days march from the camp: the provisions brought on shore were consumed, and the troops already exhausted with fatigue. But the danger forbade hesitation. The wounded, the sick, and the feeble, were placed in the centre, the most vigorous in the front and the rear. During their march they were incessantly harraffed by the Arabs; and great numbers died of fatigue or perished in the brooks which were swelled into torrents by the rains. The remnant at length arrived at Cape Metafuz, and no time was lost in the re-embarkation.

The magnanimity, fortitude, and humanity of Charles never shone so conspicuous as on this trying occasion. He exposed his person to the same dangers, and endured the same hardships, as the meanest soldier: he encouraged the desponding, visited the sick and wounded, and animated the whole army by his exhortations and example. Though the Arabs constantly hover-

ed on his rear, he was among the last that left the shore ; and his rashness in the commencement of the enterprize was considerably palliated by the illustrious qualities which he displayed in its disastrous termination.*

On his landing in Spain, the Emperor found himself involved in a new war. The King of France, impatient to be avenged of his duplicity, had negotiated an alliance with Solymán ; but as two of his agents were returning from Constantinople, they were assassinated, and their dispatches were seized by order of the Marquis de Gualto, governor of Milan. Francis complained of this gross violation of the law of nations, and required the punishment of the author of so atrocious a crime. His demands were eluded ; and the French monarch gladly embraced so honourable a pretext for taking arms. Before Charles could prepare to resist the storm, five formidable armies invaded his dominions, and those of his ally the Duke of Savoy. On the side of Spain the operations were conducted by the Dauphin, who immediately laid siege to Perpignan. The Cortes, impressed by terror and resentment at the invasion of Spain, granted their sovereign liberal

* Robert. Hist. Ch. V. vol. 3. p. 249.

supplies. And the French, after lying three months before Perpignan, being wasted by disease, and repulsed in all their attacks, abandoned the enterprize and retired into their own country. Their attempts in Piedmont, Flanders, and Brabant, were also unsuccessful, and Charles had the satisfaction to see the strength of his rival consumed in fruitless undertakings. An alliance concluded with Henry VIII. of England inspired him with hopes of still greater success. The Emperor and the King of England agreed that each should invade France with an army of twenty-five thousand men, to penetrate through the frontier provinces, and join their forces in the vicinity of Paris. But in Piedmont the imperial army was routed with the loss of ten thousand men and all its artillery; and on the northern frontier, Henry having laid siege to Boulogne contrary to the preconcerted plan of operations, their original design of marching to Paris was frustrated. This want of concert produced a misunderstanding between the two monarchs, and the imperial armies being in a mutinous state on account of the want of pay, Charles concluded a separate peace with the King of France. The principal articles were the mutual restoration of all conquests made since the truce of Nice, and the renunciation made by Charles of his claims on the Duchy of

Burgundy, with an agreement that both the monarchs should join in carrying on a war against the Ottoman Porte. These were the chief public articles of the treaty of Crispy ; but a private condition was stipulated which both judged it prudent to conceal. Charles and Francis secretly confederated to exert their power in order to exterminate the Protestant religion. The attempt ultimately failed ; but the contest occupied the Emperor during the remainder of his reign. These transactions, however, do not properly fall within the limits of this history ; but it may be remarked, that in consequence of the connexion of Spain with the other dominions of Charles, that country was, by those hostilities, considerably drained of its wealth and population.

The wars with the Protestants of Germany were not the only difficulties in which the Emperor was involved. The alliance into which he had entered with Francis, in order to effect the extirpation of the new sect, was dissolved by the death of that monarch.

A. D. 1547.

Henry II. the successor of Francis, took part in the troubles that distracted the empire, and four years after his accession entered into a league with Maurice, Duke of Saxony, and Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg, for the purpose of supporting the liberties of Germany.

Hostilities immediately commenced in Italy between the imperialists and the French. The chief dependence of Charles was placed on his Spanish and Italian troops; and their valour fully answered his expectation. But their utmost efforts were unequal to the numerous enemies whom they had to encounter in every quarter. In the midst of doubtful or rather unsuccessful wars, the death of Edward VI. of England, opened to Charles a new theatre for the display of his ambition. His son Philip was become a widower, and by the marriage of that Prince with Mary, on whom Edward's crown had devolved, he hoped to add England to his other dominions. A negotiation was commenced, and a treaty concluded on terms which judiciously regulated the succession of their issue, and provided for the independence of the English crown. Philip, having subscribed the conditions, sailed from Corunna with a splendid train, and
A. D. 1554. landed in England, where his marriage with the Queen was solemnized with great magnificence.

Charles had already made every effort which policy could devise, to transmit to his son Philip the imperial crown along with his hereditary dominions. But his brother Ferdinand, whose election to the dignity of King of the Romans he himself had procured, refused to resign his

title and claim to his nephew, and the German Princes so firmly opposed the election of Philip, that Charles was obliged to withdraw his proposal.* The marriage of that Prince with the Queen of England promised advantages which seemed to counterbalance the loss of the imperial crown of Germany : but notwithstanding this favourable event Charles experienced various mortifications. Although the Protestants, in concluding the treaty of Passau, had basely abandoned the King of France to his own resources and exertions, the vigorous efforts of that monarch gave sufficient employment to the Emperor. But while the issue of the contest was still in suspense, Charles astonished Europe by suddenly resigning to his son Philip all his dominions, and retiring to the peaceful enjoyments of private life.

A resolution so singular and unexpected, has given rise to various conjectures concerning the motives which could induce a Prince of such restless ambition, whose ruling passion had been uniformly the love of power, so suddenly to abandon his favourite object. By some his resignation has been ascribed to the aspiring temper of Philip ; but causes of a more obvious nature

* Thuan. 180 to 238. Mem. de Ribier, tom 2.

may sufficiently account for the Emperor's conduct. He had, at an early period of life, been attacked by the gout : the violence of the distemper increased as he advanced in age, and the fits became more frequent as well as more severe. Not only the vigour of his constitution was broken, but the faculties of his mind were impaired by the long continuance of excruciating pains. In such circumstances he found his strength wholly inadequate to the completion of those vast schemes which his ambition had formed. He had always been accustomed to inspect, with the closest attention, every department; and it was with the greatest reluctance that he committed the conduct of affairs to his ministers. He imputed every miscarriage to his inability to execute his plans in person, and he prudently resolved not to forfeit the fame of his former days by retaining a power which he could no longer wield with vigour and address.

This resolution of Charles was not precipitately formed. Amidst the busy scenes of politics and war he seems to have been long impressed with a conviction of the vanity of this world, and a desire of withdrawing himself from its honours and cares. He had, during several years, revolved this scheme, and had communicated it to his sisters, the Dowager Queens of France and Hungary, who had approved his intention and

offered to accompany him in his retreat. Several causes, however, had hitherto concurred to prevent the execution of his design; but especially it was requisite to wait until his son Philip should have attained to that maturity of age, and acquired that experience in business which might qualify him for governing dominions of so vast an extent, and the interests of which were so complicated. It had also been the desire of Charles that Philip should commence his reign amidst the advantages of peace; and for that purpose a negotiation was set on foot with the court of France. But as Henry shewed no disposition to close with his overtures, the Emperor resolved no longer to postpone the execution of his design in expectation of an uncertain event.

Philip being returned from England, Charles prepared to perform this last act of his reign with a solemnity suitable to its importance. At Brussels, in a splendid assembly of the states, at which were present his sister the Queen of Hungary, with a great number of the
Oct. 25. A. D. 1555. Princes of the empire, and the grandees of Spain, he resigned to his son Philip the sovereignty of the Netherlands.

Charles, then rising from his chair of state, and leaning on the shoulder of the Prince of Orange, addressed himself to the audience, and

recounted all that he had undertaken and performed since the commencement of his administration. He observed, that from the seventeenth year of his age, he had dedicated all his thoughts and attention to the objects of public concern, reserving no portion of his time for the indulgence of ease, and very little for the enjoyment of pleasure: that either in a pacific or hostile manner he had visited Germany nine times, Italy seven times, the Netherlands ten times, Spain six times, France four times, England twice, Africa twice, and had made eleven voyages by sea. That so long as his health enabled him to discharge the duties of a sovereign he had never shunned labour, nor dreaded fatigue; but now that his vigour was exhausted, his increasing infirmities admonished him that it was time to retire, and no longer to retain the sceptre in a feeble hand unable to sway it with energy. That instead of a monarch worn out with disease, he gave them a sovereign in the prime of life, endowed with activity and strength, and trained to the business of government. He concluded by adding that if, in the course of a long administration, he had committed any material error, or if amidst the pressure of great and complicated affairs he had injured or neglected any of his subjects, he implored their forgiveness; and that for his own part he should ever retain a

grateful sense of their fidelity and attachment, of which the remembrance would be his sweetest consolation in retirement.

Then addressing himself to Philip, "It is in your power," said he, "by a wise and virtuous administration to justify the extraordinary proof which I have given of my paternal affection, and to demonstrate that you are worthy of the confidence which I repose in you. Preserve an inviolable regard for religion: maintain the Catholic Faith in its purity: let the laws of your country be sacred in your eyes: encroach not on the rights and privileges of your people;* and if the time shall ever come when you shall wish to enjoy the tranquillity of private life, may you have a son endowed with such qualities that you can resign your sceptre to him with as much satisfaction as I now give up mine to you."

Some time after, in an assembly equally splendid, Charles resigned to his son the crowns of Spain, with all its dependent territories in the old and the new world.† Out of all his vast possessions he reserved nothing for himself but an annual revenue of a hundred thousand crowns

* Charles seems to have forgotten how greatly he himself had encroached on the dearest privilege of his subjects, in forcing their consciences, and persecuting the Protestants.

† Charles had resigned Naples and Sicily to Philip on the marriage of that Prince with Queen Mary of England.

for the expenses of his household, and for acts of beneficence and charity.

The tempestuous season of winter being unfavourable to navigation, he remained some time in the Netherlands before he embarked for the retreat on which he had fixed in Spain. This delay was employed in negotiation; and Charles, who was extremely desirous of procuring for his son an interval of peace, in which he might firmly establish his authority, had the satisfaction of signing a truce of five years with France. This was the last public act of the Emperor; he had hitherto retained the imperial dignity in the hope of still being able to transfer it to Philip; but finding it impossible to accomplish his design, he resigned the crown of Germany to his brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans.

Nothing now remained to prevent him from indulging his inclination for retirement. At Zuitberg, in Zealand, he took leave of Philip with all the affection of a father, giving the last embrace to his son, and without loss of time embarked for Spain. As soon he landed in that country he fell prostrate, and kissing the earth, said, "Naked I came from my mother's womb, "and naked I return to thee thou common "mother of mankind." At Burgos he was met by some of the Spanish nobility; but their number was so small that Charles felt, for the first

time, that he was no longer a monarch, and discovered that the obsequious respect of mankind is paid rather to rank and power than to personal qualities. But he was the most deeply affected by the ungrateful neglect of his son, who suffered him to remain some weeks on the road before he paid him the first moiety of that small pension which he had reserved out of so many kingdoms.* At length the money was remitted; and Charles, having dismissed, with liberal rewards, those persons of his household whose attendance he considered as unnecessary, continued his journey, and entered on his retirement with only twelve domestics.

The place which Charles had fixed on for his retreat, was the monastery of St. Justin, at the distance of a few miles from the city of Placentia, in the Province of Estramadura. It was situated in a vale of no great extent, watered by a small brook, and surrounded by rising grounds covered with lofty trees.† The Emperor had passed that way many years before, and, being struck with its delightful situation, had then observed to his attendants, that to such a place

* *Fam. Strad. de Bello Belg. lib. 1.*

† Dr. Robertson says that from the nature of the soil, and the temperature of the climate, it was esteemed the most healthful situation in Spain. *Hist. Charles V. vol. 4. p. 259.* A small valley surrounded by eminences and woods does not convey an idea of great salubrity.

Dioclesian might have retired with pleasure. The impression had remained so strong on his mind that he pitched upon it as the place of his own retreat. Previous to his resignation he had sent an architect to add to the monastery a new apartment for his accommodation. It consisted of only six rooms, four of which were in the form of friar's cells, with naked walls; the other two, each twenty feet square, were hung with brown cloth, and furnished in the most simple manner. They were all on a level with the ground, with a door on one side into a garden, which Charles himself had planned and filled with various plants, which he cultivated with his own hands: on the other side they communicated with the chapel of the monastery in which he used to perform his devotions.*

The fame and power of Charles V. and the active ambition which had characterized his reign, naturally excite the curiosity of following him into his sequestered retreat. His table was neat but plain: his intercourse with his domestics was familiar; and all the ceremonious forms of attendance on his person were abolished,

* It seems that there must have been other rooms for the twelve domestics, otherwise it is not easy to conceive how the lodgings were arranged or the cooking conveniently performed. Dr. Robertson does not mention any stories or chambers, and his description appears incomplete.

as destructive of that social ease and tranquillity which he desired to enjoy. For his amusement, sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden, sometimes he rode out to the neighbouring woods on a little horse, the only one that he kept, attended by a single servant on foot. When unfavourable weather, or his own infirmities, deprived him of these active recreations, he either enjoyed the company of a few gentlemen, who resided near the monastery, and whom he entertained familiarly at his table, or employed himself in studying mechanical principles and forming curious pieces of mechanism. For this purpose he engaged Turriano, one of the most ingenious artists of the age, to accompany him in his retirement. The construction of clocks and watches was one of his favourite amusements. With regard to these he was particularly curious; but having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring two of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, it is said, with a mixture of surprise and regret, on his folly, in having bestowed so much time and labour in the more vain attempt of bringing mankind to an uniformity of opinion in regard to religion. How happy would it have been for himself and mankind had these reflections occurred at an earlier period of his life; and what a benefit would it have been to

his successor had he learned the important lesson of which Charles had too late discovered the utility.

In the solitude and silence of this sequestered retreat, Charles buried his grandeur, his ambition, and all those vast projects which, during the space of thirty-six years, had alarmed and agitated Europe, filling every kingdom, by turns, with the terror of his arms, and the dread of being subdued by his power. Far from taking any part in the political transactions of the world, he restrained his curiosity even from making any inquiry concerning such matters, and seemed to view the busy scene, which he had abandoned, with all the contempt and indifference resulting from his thorough experience of its vanities. Could we have a distinct view of the ideas which this once potent monarch revolved in retirement, they would, perhaps, appear more interesting than those which filled his mind in the midst of military pomp or of royal and imperial magnificence. As the mildness of the climate, together with his deliverance from the toils and cares of government, procured him, at first, a considerable remission of his disorder, he enjoyed, perhaps, more complete satisfaction in this humble solitude than he had ever derived from the possession of greatness and power.

During the first year of his retreat, Charles employed himself in a manner becoming a man perfectly disengaged from the affairs of the present life, and standing on the confines of another world. He constantly reserved a considerable portion of his time for religious exercises, and regularly attended divine service, morning and evening, in the chapel of the monastery. He took great pleasure in perusing books of devotion, and frequently conversed with his confessor and the prior of the monastery on religious subjects. His health seemed improved, his mind was sound, and his devotion was hitherto rational. But about six months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermission than usual, returned with redoubled violence; and his shattered constitution being unable to withstand such a shock, his mind became enfeebled as well as his body, and from that period we can scarcely discern any traces of that sound and masculine understanding by which he had ever been distinguished. His devotion degenerated into a timid superstition: he endeavoured to conform in his manner of living to the rules of monastic austerity, and employed almost all his time in chanting hymns and prayers with the Monks. He gave himself the discipline in secret, with such severity, that the whip which he employed for that purpose was found, after

his death, tinged with his blood. Not satisfied with these rigid mortifications, he conceived a design as wild and uncommon as any that superstition ever suggested to a weak and disordered imagination. He resolved to celebrate his own obsequies: he ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel of the monastery. He walked thither wrapped up in his shroud, and preceded by his domestics, who marched in funeral procession, carrying wax tapers in their hands. He was then laid in his coffin with great solemnity. The service for the dead was chanted by the Monks, and Charles joined in the prayers that were offered for the repose of his soul, while his attendants shed tears as if they had in reality celebrated his funeral. The ceremony being closed, and the assistants retired, Charles rose out of the coffin and withdrew to his apartment, filled with those awful sentiments which this solemn and singular scene was calculated to inspire. But it is probable that the impression which this image of death left on his mind had affected his nervous system, already enfeebled by a variety of causes. The next day he was seized with a fever, his exhausted constitution could not long resist its violence, and he expired on the 21st September, 1558, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.*

* Robertson's Hist. Charles V. v. 4. book 12. Strad. de Bello Belgico, lib. 1.

Such was the exit of Charles V. who had acted a more conspicuous part on the theatre of Europe than any other monarch since the time of Charlemagne. Patient and indefatigable, his application to business was never diverted by pleasure, and seldom relaxed by amusement. He was accustomed to revolve every subject with the most careful attention; but his promptitude in execution was not less remarkable than his patience in deliberation; nor did he discover greater sagacity in the choice of his measures, than fertility of genius in devising expedients to render them successful. Though, during the most ardent season of life, he confined himself to the cabinet, yet, when he appeared in the field, he displayed such military talents as justly entitled him to rank with the greatest generals of the age. He possessed, in an eminent degree, the art of discovering and availing himself of the abilities of men, and of securing their fidelity and attachment. But all these qualities were shaded by a restless and unbounded ambition, which oppressed and exhausted his people, and by an insidious and fraudulent policy, which was rendered more odious by the open and generous disposition of Francis I. his cotemporary and rival. The reign of Charles was fatal to the liberty of Spain; by his success in the war against the Junta, he exalted the royal

prerogative on the ruins of the Commons ; and after that event the power of the aristocracy was gradually broken. The grandees, allured by offices of honour and emolument in the court or the army, and permitted to retain the vain distinction of being covered in the presence of the sovereign, paid no attention to the increasing power of the crown, and the will of the monarch became at length the supreme law throughout Spain.*

* Vide Don Juan Pablo Viscardo y Gusman ubi supra.

CHAP. IV.

State of the Spanish monarchy at the accession of Philip II.—Extent and riches of his dominions.—His war with the Holy See.—War with France.—Alliance with England.—Battle of St. Quintin.—Calais taken from the English by the Duke of Guise.—The French defeated at Gravelines.—Peace of Cateau Cambresis.—Philip returns to Spain.—Persecutes the dissenters from the Catholic Faith.—Reflections on intolerance.—War against the African pirates.—Siege of Malta by the Turks.—Disturbances in the Netherlands.—Tyranny of Cardinal Grenville.—Oppressive measures of Vigilius and Barlaumont.—Moderation of Margaret Duchess of Parma.—Garrisons placed in Valenciennes, Tournay, and Antwerp.—Arrival of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands.—Tragical fate of Don Carlos.—Execution of the Counts Egmont and Horn.—Tyranny of Alva.—Revolt of the Netherlands.—Revolt of the Moreoscoes.—Confederacy between Spain, Rome, and Venice, against the Ottoman Porte.—Memorable defeat of the Turkish fleet near Lepanto.

DURING the reign of Charles the star of Austria was predominant ; and in that of his son, Spain retained her political ascendancy in the old and the new world. The House of Austria was now divided into two branches, the German and the Spanish ; but though Philip was disappointed of obtaining the imperial crown which his father had worn, yet he might justly be esteemed the most powerful monarch of that age. He possessed the

united kingdoms of Spain, the crowns of Naples and Sicily, the duchy of Milan, Franche Comte, and the Netherlands. His authority was acknowledged in Tunis and Oran, in the Cape Verd and the Canary islands; but his vast dominions in Europe and Africa were not equal in extent to the recent acquisitions in America, where empires instead of provinces had been annexed to the Spanish monarchy, and inexhaustible veins of wealth had been discovered. Over these various and immense territories Philip II. commenced his reign with every possible advantage. In the time of his predecessor, the colonies of the new world were yet in their infancy. The newly discovered mines had not transmitted much of their rich produce into the treasury. But in the reign of Philip the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru were copiously poured into the bosom of the Guadalquiver; and the Spaniard might justly boast, that "he who had not seen Seville, had not seen the wonder of the world." The manufactures of the Netherlands were excellently adapted to the supply of the colonies; and Antwerp and Seville were calculated to become the emporia of the richest commerce of the world. A veteran army, renowned for courage, and commanded by officers long accustomed to war and victory; a fleet superior to that of any other power; a council composed of

experienced statesmen; and a trade more extensive and lucrative than any other nation had ever possessed, promised to Spain an age of splendid prosperity. The character of the new monarch also seemed at first to justify the expectation of his subjects: he was laborious and indefatigable in business: religious bigotry and the love of arbitrary power were his grand defects. These were the sources of all the evils of his reign, and in the end proved fatal to the glory and greatness of Spain.

Philip had not long the satisfaction of seeing his dominions flourish in tranquillity. The truce which had been concluded with France
A. D. 1556. was soon violated through the intrigues of the Roman Pontiff, Paul IV.

who represented to Henry that a favourable opportunity occurred for attacking the Spanish dominions in Italy. The Pope having assured himself of the assistance of the French monarch, immediately published a memorial enumerating various subjects of complaint against Philip, and declaring his forfeiture of the crown of Naples.

The Spanish monarch, having early imbibed a profound veneration for the Holy See, felt no small reluctance to hostilities. But after a considerable time of deliberation and delay, he at last determined on action; and the Duke of Alba was ordered to enter the Papal territories.

The Spaniards soon penetrated to the gates of Rome, and the Pope prepared for sustaining a siege. But although he himself was undaunted, he was obliged to yield to the solicitations of the cardinals, and proposed a cessation of arms. The Duke of Alva, sensible that his master was extremely desirous of terminating a war which he had commenced with so great reluctance, closed with the overture, and consented to a truce. Paul, however, soon gave proofs of his insincerity. The Duke of Guise, with twenty thousand of the best troops of France, was marching to his support. His Holiness, immediately throwing off the mask, again had recourse to arms and anathemas. The Duke of Alva retreated towards Naples: the French advanced to the frontiers of that kingdom, but their army being wasted by disease, was compelled to retreat and return to Rome for the protection of that capital.

On the side of Flanders the war was prosecuted with greater vigour. The caution of the English nation had excluded Philip from any share in its government; but the affection of his consort gave him no inconsiderable influence in its affairs. To gratify the inclinations of Mary, England espoused the cause of Spain. The army which Philip had collected in the Netherlands amounted to fifty thousand men, and was joined

by eight thousand English under the Earl of Pembroke. The chief command was intrusted to Emanuel Philebert, Duke of Savoy, who, with his whole force, invested the town of St. Quintin, in Picardy, while Philip remained at Cambray in order to be near the scene of action. As there were few fortified towns between St. Quintin and Paris, the French monarch resolved to attempt the relief of a place the capture of which would open a way to his capital. The forces collected by Henry were commanded by the Constable Montmorency, who attempted to throw succours into the town; a few troops forced their passage; but the constable being attacked in his retreat by the Duke of Savoy, with an army greatly superior, was totally routed and taken prisoner with about four thousand of his troops, among whom were many of his principal officers; and nearly as great a number of the French perished in the field of battle. Among the slain were the Duke d'Enghien, brother to the Prince of Conde, and several other officers of distinction. To the valour of Count Egmont the Spaniards were chiefly indebted for this decisive victory, which they gained with an inconsiderable loss.*

* In memory of this victory at St. Quintin, Philip afterwards erected the palace of the Escorial.

A council of war being called to determine on the plan of their future operations, the Duke of Savoy proposed to relinquish the siege of St. Quintin, and to march directly to Paris; but the project was too bold for the cautious temper of Philip, and the siege was continued. In the mean while the consternation which had pervaded France gradually subsided. The undaunted countenance of Henry revived the courage of his subjects. He collected the scattered remains of the army, to which he joined the Ban and Arriereban of the provinces, and recalled the Marechal de Brissac from Piedmont, and the Duke of Guise from Rome, in order to provide for the defence of France. The Pope, deserted by his allies, concluded a peace with Philip, who being extremely desirous of a reconciliation with the head of the church, engaged to restore all his conquests in the ecclesiastical states, and to send the Duke of Alva to Rome to ask pardon in his own name, and in that of his master, for having invaded the patrimony of the church. On this occasion, the Duke, although one of the proudest men of the age, and accustomed from his infancy to a familiar intercourse with Princes, confessed that when he approached the Pope his voice failed, and his presence of mind forsook him—a striking proof of the superstitious veneration of the Spaniards for the Papal character.

The return of the Duke of Guise to France convinced Philip that, by persevering in the siege of St. Quintin, the opportunity of penetrating to the French capital was irretrievably lost; and the acquisition of that place, with the two inconsiderable towns of Hamand and Catelet, was all that he gained by his victory. The Duke of Guise commenced his operations by the siege of Calais, which he restored to the crown of France after it had been above two hundred years under the dominion of England, being the sole remnant of the conquests of Edward III. on the continent.* Soon after the capture of Calais the Marechal de Termes made himself master of Dunkirk by assault, and advanced to Nieuport, where he was met by Count Egmont with a superior force. The French attempted to retreat; but the Count, pressing forward, forced them to action near Gravelines. The desperate valour of the French held victory some time in suspense; but a squadron of English vessels, being drawn to the coast by the noise of the firing, entered the river Aa, and turning their guns against the right wing of their army, decided the contest. The French fled with precipitation, leaving two thousand

* Calais was taken by Edward III. A. D. 1347, and was retaken by the Duke of Guise A. D. 1558.

dead on the field ; and their commander, with many other officers of distinction, were made prisoners.*

The alternations of success and miscarriage inclined the Belligerent monarchs to direct their attention to the restoration of peace, after Spain and France had been for near half a century engaged in almost continual wars. Negotiations being commenced a treaty was at
A. D. 1559. length concluded at Cateau Cambresis. The articles were more advantageous to Spain than to France. All the conquests on both sides were restored, except the towns of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which remained to France ; and the Duke of Savoy regained most of his dominions.† While the negotiation was pending, Mary, Queen of England, expired of a dropical disease, occasioned, according to some, by her uneasiness at the absence and indifference of Philip, while others ascribe her death to her grief for the loss of Calais. Both these causes might have concurred to accelerate that event, or both opinions may be only conjecture. Philip at first professed great friendship for her successor Elizabeth, and even attempted to obtain her hand in marriage. But perceiving her decided

* Thuan. lib. 20. p. 693.

† Henry resigned conquests that Spain could not have wrested from him in thirty years. Henault Ab. Chron. ad. An. 1559.

repugnance to his wishes, and her zeal for the Protestant religion, he appeared less attached to her interests; and she being apprehensive of the defection of her ally, concluded a treaty, by which she resigned Calais to the French. Peace was thus restored between Spain, England, and France; Philip and the Duke of Savoy engaged to espouse Elizabeth and Margaret, the daughter and sister of Henry; and as public interests are frequently bartered for private advantages, the national losses of France were compensated by procuring splendid establishments for the family of the monarch.

On the restoration of peace, Philip returned to Spain. He had scarcely landed at Laredo, in Biscay, when a dreadful tempest arose which destroyed or dispersed the fleet by which he had been escorted: above a thousand of his subjects perished, and an invaluable collection of paintings and statues, from Italy and Flanders, was buried in the ocean. In gratitude to Providence for his preservation from the dangers of the sea, Philip is said to have solemnly dedicated his reign to the defence of the Roman Catholic Faith, and the extirpation of heresy; and Spain has had too much reason to lament the rigid punctuality with which he fulfilled the engagement. The severe policy of the inquisition, established by Ferdinand and Isabella, in order

to prevent the baptized Jews and Moors from relapsing into their former errors, was rigorously employed in restricting the freedom of the mind on the most important subjects of human inquiry. Numerous spies and informers were interested to accuse, and eighteen inquisitorial courts were employed to condemn to the flames those who dared to dissent from the established church. At Valladolid this dreadful sentence was executed on thirty persons, and Philip himself, accompanied by his son Don Carlos, by his sister, and by the grandees of his court, was an unmoved spectator of the inhuman sacrifice. A nobleman, when led to the stake, implored the mercy of his sovereign; but the furious bigot sternly replied that he would carry the wood to burn his own son if he were guilty of heresy. Such are the horrid sentiments inspired by that infernal spirit of superstitious intolerance, which has not been confined to one particular sect of religion, but, at certain periods, and in a greater or less degree, has disgraced every national church, and given occasion to the exulting exclamation of infidels,

"Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum,"

an observation, however, which derives all its force from the want of discriminating between political religion and genuine christianity.

From the gloomy scenes of religious persecution, we must turn to the more brilliant enterprises of war. In the zenith of his power, Charles V. had not been able completely to protect his subjects from the piratical depredations of the corsairs of Africa. After the abdication of that monarch they became still more daring, and harrassed, by desultory attacks, the coasts of Spain, of Naples, and of Sicily. The name of Barbarossa had not been more terrible than was now that of Dragut, who had subdued a great part of the island of Corfica, and continued to ravage, with indefatigable activity, the shores of the Mediterranean. Philip, being relieved from the war with France, resolved to chastise the pirates of Africa. An armament of a hundred ships of war and transports, with fourteen thousand veteran troops, commanded by the Duke of Medina Cœli, governor of Sicily, sailed from Syracuse to Tripoli, the principal retreat of Dragut. But the abilities of the Spanish commander in chief were unequal to the enterprise. So injudiciously had his preparations been conducted, that, while the fleet lay in the harbour of Syracuse, near four thousand of the troops had died of an epidemic disease, occasioned by unwholesome provisions; and when arrived on the African coast, instead of immediately attacking Tripoli, he consumed

his time in fortifying the island of Gerba. Dragut, who was then engaged in an inland war with one of the independent Princes of Barbary, abandoning the hope of new conquests, returned to defend his former acquisitions. The time which the Spaniards had wasted, allowed him to collect his scattered cruisers : the squadrons of the Porte were joined to those of Barbary ; and on their approach, the sickly state of his troops not permitting the Duke of Medina Cœli to hazard a battle, he gave the signal for flight, which was conducted in the most precipitate and disorderly manner. Several of the ships were lost on the shoals or wrecked on the coast : above thirty of them were taken by the Turks : near a thousand veterans perished : about five hundred were made prisoners ; and the Duke, with some of his principal officers, escaped to Malta.

The Spanish fleet was no sooner departed than Dragut laid siege to the castle of Gerba, of which the defence was intrusted to Don Alvaro de Sandez, an officer of consummate courage and skill. A body of twelve thousand Turks under the conduct of Piali, one of the bravest of the Ottoman commanders, supported the desultory attacks of the Moors. During several days the Spaniards, animated by the example of their commander, repulsed the enemy with steady and persevering valour. The Turkish batteries at

length had reduced the fortifications to ruins, when Don Alvaro, and his garrison, which was now reduced to a thousand men, resolved to perish or open a passage, sword in hand, through the hostile army. Sallying forth in the middle of the night, they spread terror and carnage through the infidel camp, and had almost reached the tent of the general, when their career was stopped by the select bands of the janissaries. Encompassed on every side, they still made a desperate resistance, and fell covered with wounds. Don Alvaro himself, with two of his officers, forced their way through the surrounding host, and having reached the shore, gained the wreck of a vessel. There he was discovered in the morning undauntedly waiting the charge of the enemy. The Turkish general, Piali, admired his valour, and gave him a solemn assurance of safety and honourable treatment. On these conditions Alvaro laid down his arms, and after a short captivity at Constantinople was ransomed by his sovereign.

The success of Dragut excited the emulation of the other piratical chiefs. Hascem, Viceroy of Algiers, and son of Barbarossa, having collected a force of a hundred thousand men, and a fleet of thirty vessels, laid siege to the fortress of Mazarquiver, which, together with Oran, had been wrested from the Moors under the

vigorous administration of Ximenes. The danger of that important place roused Philip to vigorous exertion. A numerous fleet collected in the Spanish and Italian ports, and commanded by Don Francisco Mendoza, soon appeared in sight of the coast of Africa. Fortune now again began to favour the enterprises of Philip; and the corsairs of Barbary were taught, in their turn, to tremble at the sound of war. His fleet and army attacked the fortress of Pennon de Velez, the retreat of Cara Mustapha, who, though originally a common seaman, had, by his daring spirit and his success in piracy, been enabled to equip a squadron of galleys, with which he scoured the Mediterranean with indefatigable rapacity. From its situation on a high and steep rock, separated from the continent by a channel, and accessible only by a narrow path, Pennon de Velez was deemed impregnable; but the cowardice of the governor to whom Mustapha had, during his own absence, intrusted its defence, rendered this important fortress an easy conquest.

But the joy which these successes excited in Christendom was soon allayed by apprehensions of danger. Solymán considered himself as the general protector of the followers of Mahomet: his power and abilities were not unequal to the arduous office, and his immense preparations

announced some grand effort. But it was uncertain where the storm would fall. Even in the Ottoman councils it remained for some time undetermined whether Sicily or Malta should be the primary object of attack. Solyman, however, resolved to attempt the conquest of Malta, and the magnitude of his armament was proportioned to the difficulty of the enterprise. But the dauntless and persevering intrepidity of the knights, under the command of the Grand Master, Jean de la Valette, baffled all the efforts of the Ottoman power; and the memorable defence of Malta, during the space of four months, will ever be regarded as one of the greatest achievements recorded in military history.* During this tremendous season of danger and distress, the knights had constantly expected the arrival of the Spaniards from Sicily, where an armament was assembled for their relief. But Philip, actuated by a selfish and ungenerous policy, resolved not to expose his own forces till the strength of the Turks was broken. At length, when the Ottoman army was reduced from above forty thousand to less than sixteen thousand men, he sent orders to the Viceroy of Sicily to expedite the sailing of the succours for Malta.

* The Island of Malta was given to the knights of St. John, of Jerusalem, by Charles V. when Solyman had expelled them from Rhodes.

A. D. 1565. About the middle of September, six thousand veterans, under the conduct of the adventurous Alvaro de Sandez, who had signalized himself by his uncommon intrepidity at Gerba, were landed on the island. Don Alvaro immediately advanced and attacked the enemy: the Turks were thrown into confusion, and the route soon became general: the Grand Vizier, Mustapha, narrowly escaped to his fleet; but above two thousand of his bravest janissaries perished by the swords of the Spaniards.*

The failure of the Ottoman arms before Malta relieved Philip from all apprehensions for Sicily; but while he gained some respite from foreign alarms, his own dominions contained a germ of civil commotion, which ultimately produced more fatal effects than could have resulted from foreign hostilities. Spain indeed was overawed by military force and inquisitorial tribunals. But the Netherlands retained a considerable share of freedom. From an early period those provinces had been independent states under their respective Dukes and Counts, who, being frequently engaged in hostilities with one another, or with the neighbouring powers, were obliged to have recourse to their subjects

* Vide L'Abbe Vertot *Siege de Malte*.

for supplies. These were seldom granted without extorting some concession in return; and various privileges were gradually acquired by the cities, the nobles, and the prelates. Their constitution, though monarchical in form, was in its essence republican. The supreme authority was lodged in the assembly of the states, which had the power of meeting as often as the members deemed it expedient. Without the consent of that assembly no laws could be enacted, no taxes could be imposed, no war could be undertaken, nor could any foreigner be admitted into any branch of the administration. Their Princes reigned in hereditary succession; but their principal function was that of commanding the military force.

By conquest or marriage these provinces were at length united under the dominion of the House of Burgundy; but their constitution remained nearly the same. Industry was excited, and commerce flourished under the genial influence of freedom. At first Bruges and afterwards Antwerp became the emporium of the north. Ghent was remarked for the excellence of its woollens, and Arras for the beauty of its tapestry; almost every town in the Netherlands was enriched by some manufacture; and the opulence of these provinces excited the astonishment of the neighbouring countries.

On the extinction of the male line of the House of Burgundy, by the death of Charles the Bold, the sovereignty of his dominions devolved on Mary, his daughter and heiress, who was married to Maximilian, King of the Romans. The accession of their grandson, Charles V. to the thrones of Spain and Germany, by rendering him too powerful to be controlled, was unfavourable to the liberties of the Netherlands. That Prince frequently introduced foreign troops into these provinces, and in other respects made too free with their privileges. But Flanders was the place of his nativity : from taste and early attachment he loved the Flemings, kept them about his person, and bestowed on them the most important offices, while they acknowledged their grateful sense of this preference by an ardent zeal for his glory and advantage.

Neither the temper nor conduct of Philip was calculated to keep alive these emotions. ✕ His haughty reserve, and his bigotted veneration for the church of Rome, were equally disgusting to the Flemings. The opinions of the reformers had now spread far and wide ; and men nurtured in civil freedom were naturally averse to religious slavery. Charles had laboured to check the growth of the new religion, and had issued several severe edicts for that purpose ; but when he found that the Protestants prepared

to emigrate with their families and their effects, his prudence restrained his zeal from depopulating a country which afforded him the most effectual support. But Philip, overlooking or despising such considerations, had no sooner received the reins of government, than he revived the obnoxious edicts, and established for the extirpation of heresy, a tribunal which, without the invidious name of the inquisition, was armed with all the oppressive powers of that institution. The number of the Spanish troops, still retained in the Netherlands, together with their rapacity and insolence, augmented the discontents of the people. Their complaints were preferred to the throne before the departure of Philip for Spain; but he listened in sullen silence to the representations of the states, and, disdaining all conciliatory counsels, resolved to maintain his authority by coercion.

Margaret, Duchess of Parma, on whom Philip had conferred the government of the Netherlands, was inclined to more moderate measures; but although she possessed the title of Regent, the power was chiefly lodged in the hands of Cardinal Grenville, Archbishop of Mechlin, a man of an obscure extraction, but of eminent abilities, indefatigable in business, undaunted in danger, and by gratitude and interest attached to Philip and the Roman See. By nature and

habit insensible to pity, he enforced the sanguinary edicts of his sovereign with unrelenting severity, and trampled with tyrannical rigour on the constitution of the provinces. But his arrogance, combined with his bigotry, at length proved fatal to his power. The famous William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, and the Counts of Egmont and Horn, three of the principal nobles, determined to lay their complaints at the foot of the throne.* In a letter to the King they ascribed all the discontents to the imperious conduct of the Cardinal. Philip, naturally inflexible, refused to dismiss his minister ; but Grenville, seeing himself the object of universal detestation, yielded to the storm. Convinced of the inefficacy of his measures, he solicited and obtained his recal, and thus prudently withdrew from the troubles which his tyranny had excited.

But the removal of the minister was far from restoring tranquillity ; his influence was transferred to two of his creatures, Vigilius and Barlaimont, who were active in continuing his tyrannical measures ; and the Protestants still groaned under the scourge of persecution. The menacing aspect of affairs at length alarmed the Regent. She resolved to send one of the prin-

* Strada de Bello Belgico lib. 2.

cipal nobility to Spain, to lay before Philip the agitated state of the provinces, and she chose Count Egmont for that important embassy. The reception of that nobleman at Madrid was of the most flattering nature: Philip treated him with the most marked attention, conciliated his affections with magnificent presents, and excited his hopes by splendid promises. To these personal favours he added such expressions as induced the Count to anticipate a happy result to his embassy. That nobleman, who was naturally open and unsuspecting, being deceived by these promising appearances, returned to the Netherlands extolling the goodness of the monarch, and answering for his sincerity. But the Prince of Orange, more circumspect and suspicious, was not so easily deluded. The conduct of Philip indeed soon revealed his designs. He commanded the edicts against heresy to be enforced with rigour, and numbers of his subjects fell the victims of persecution.

While the Prince of Orange, and the Counts of Egmont and Horn, actuated by prudence or loyalty, confined themselves to remonstrances, their moderation was despised by Philip de Marnix, Lord of St. Aldegonde, a nobleman greatly distinguished by his eloquence and address. Under his direction a writing was drawn up, which strongly marked the spirit

which pervaded the Netherlands. After stating the pernicious effects of the inquisition introduced into the provinces, in direct violation of the established laws, the members of the confederacy, whose names were subscribed to this memorial, declared that they had entered into a sacred league, and confirmed it by a solemn oath, to oppose, with all their might, the pretensions of that illegal court. At the same time they professed their allegiance to their sovereign, and declared that resistance to tyranny was the sole object of their confederacy, without any design of subverting the established religion.

A. D. 1556. The ostensible views of the league met with an almost general approbation; and numbers of the most distinguished Catholics affixed their signature to the memorial. In order to fulfil their engagements, the confederates, consisting of between three and four hundred, all of them noblemen of considerable influence in the country, repaired to Brussels, and demanded permission to state their sentiments to the Regent. They proceeded in regular order to the palace, and, being admitted to an audience, renewed their professions of loyalty, but expressed their apprehensions, that if the system of rigour should still be pursued, a general revolt would be the immediate consequence, and demanded that proper persons should be dispatched to

Madrid to acquaint the King with the state of affairs. So bold an appeal extorted some concessions from the Regent. She transmitted to the inquisitors, instructions to proceed against the Protestants with greater moderation, and to punish none but such as were convicted of sedition ; and she commissioned the Marquis of Mons and the Baron de Montigny, two of the members of the league, to lay before the King the petition of the confederates.

But the minds of the Protestants were too violently agitated to bear any interval of suspense : their clamours demanded immediate redress ; and, in a moment of religious frenzy, a fanatical rabble broke out into open sedition. Precipitating themselves on the churches, they despoiled them of their most costly ornaments, defaced the images of the saints, and overturned the altars. The Prince of Orange and the Counts of Egmont and Horn, exerted themselves with vigour and success in suppressing these outrages. By their influence several of the leaders were given up and punished with death, the communion vessels, and other valuable articles, were recovered, and the tranquillity of the church was restored. But these eminent services could not efface from the mind of Philip the suspicions which he entertained of these noblemen. Their remonstrances against the

continuance of the Spanish troops in the Netherlands, as well as against the inquisition and the administration of Grenville, with the attachment which they had shown to the constitutional freedom of their country, had excited in his breast a sentiment of resentment which nothing could eradicate. The Duke of Alva, in a letter to the Regent, informed her, that the King regarding the Prince of Orange and the Counts of Egmont and Horn as the fomenters of all the disturbances, had sworn to punish them in an exemplary manner. The Prince of Orange having got possession of this letter, communicated it to the Counts of Egmont and Horn, and exhorted them to prepare for the storm with which they were threatened; but Egmont still impressed by the favours and professions of Philip, rejected the warning, and the confidence which he placed in the faith of his sovereign cost him his life.

In the mean while a large sum of money was remitted from Spain, and orders were sent to the Regent to levy, among the Catholics, a considerable number of troops. Several regiments of infantry, and a strong corps of cavalry, were accordingly raised, and intrusted to the command of officers distinguished by their zeal for the Catholic religion and their subservience to the court. These troops were designed to occupy the different fortresses, and overawe the re-

fractory cities. The inhabitants of Valenciennes, who had distinguished themselves by their enmity to the ancient religion, refused to admit a garrison into the citadel. To punish their presumption, the Lord of Noirchames, with a numerous body of troops, invested the town. The cannon of the Catholics soon dissipated the enthusiasm of the citizens, and compelled them to open their gates.* Their temerity was punished by the death of their leaders, and by a rigid proscription of the Protestant religion. Tournay and Antwerp were awed by the fate of Valenciennes; and an armed force, placed in their respective citadels, oppressed the religious and civil rights of the inhabitants. The confederates, with Count Brederode at their head, presented a second petition. But the conduct of the Regent shewed them that the favourable moment had elapsed: she refused them admission to her presence, and the only answer which she deigned to return was that, by encouraging riots and tumult, they had forfeited all claims to her regard.

Exasperated at this treatment, Brederode flew to arms. Holland revered a chief descended from her ancient Earls; and the Protestants flocked to his standard; but the approach of the

* *Strada de Bello Belg. lib. 1.*

Counts of Aremberg and Megen, with a superior force of regular troops, obliged him to retire into Germany. His retreat seemed to have extinguished the hopes of the Protestants. The tempest was succeeded by a perfect calm, and the discontented Lords seemed to vie with one another in giving proofs of their zeal for the church and the King.

Could Philip have been satisfied with the submission of the Netherlands, the prudence and vigour of the Dukes of Parma had laid the foundation of their tranquillity and future obedience. But the tyrannical and bigoted mind of the monarch imagined that the honour of the crown and the security of the church required the establishment of despotism, and the extirpation of heresy. Actuated by such sentiments, he directed the Duke of Alva to march with an army of Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, into the Netherlands. Stern and implacable, the Duke was a proper agent for carrying into execution the sanguinary designs of his sovereign; and the news of his appointment spread terror and dismay through the provinces. The Prince of Orange resolved to escape from the storm by retiring into Germany, and endeavoured to persuade the Count of Egmont to accompany him in his flight. But finding that nobleman deaf to his counsel, he left him with this memor-

able admonition, "You," said the Prince; "will be the bridge by which the Duke of Alva will pass into the low countries; and when he has passed over he will break it down."

The prediction of the Prince of Orange was fatally verified. The Duke of Alva entered Brussels, and soon began to exercise the extraordinary powers with which he was armed. Under the pretence of holding a consultation, the Counts of Egmont and Horn were allured to the palace, where they were arrested and sent prisoners to the castle of Ghent. The Duchess of Parma, who was far from sanctioning this arbitrary measure, and felt her authority as Regent superceded by the extraordinary commission granted to Alva, determined to retire from a station in which her feelings had been wounded, and her dignity insulted. After representing to Philip the fatal consequences that must inevitably result from his tyrannical system, she resigned the regency; and her departure left the Duke of Alva to pursue his sanguinary measures without even the appearance of control.*

While Alva tyrannised over the Netherlands, the family of Philip was doomed to share in the sufferings of his subjects. Don Carlos, his eldest

* Fam. Strada de Belló Belgico, lib. 2.

son, a Prince of a weak capacity, but of violent passions, was accused of a design of retiring to the Netherlands in order to place himself at the head of the malcontents. The rash project of an inconsiderate youth ought to have excited the pity as much as the resentment of his royal father. But the bosom of Philip was steeled against every tender emotion. In his presence Don Carlos was arrested, deprived of every mark of dignity, and committed to close confinement. Conformably to the will of his inexorable parent, the court of inquisition pronounced him guilty. A veil has been thrown over his last moments, and history has been unable to relate the manner in which this unfortunate Prince expired.

A. D. 1568.

The Flemings could expect little mercy from a monarch who had not spared his own son. A severe inquisition had already been instituted against those who, in defence of their rights, had presumed to resist the royal will: numbers of every age, sex, and condition, daily perished by the hand of the executioner: numbers were, by their rapacious judges, robbed of their property and reduced to beggary; and so active was the persecution of Alva that, in the space of one year, above a hundred thousand persons abandoned their habitations, and took refuge in foreign countries. Thither they transferred

their skill in those arts and manufactures which had rendered the Netherlands the seat of opulence ; and thus the tyranny of Philip, while it impoverished his own dominions, enriched those of his enemies.

By a timely flight the Prince of Orange had eluded the snares of his enemies ; but his estates had been confiscated, and his eldest son, the Count of Buren, while pursuing his studies at the university of Louvain, had been seized and sent to Madrid. His own wrongs and those of his country concurred to impel him to action : by the assistance of the Lutheran Princes of Germany, who were moved by the miseries of their brethren, the Prince was enabled to levy a considerable body of troops, while the Flemish exiles ranged themselves under the banners of his brother, Count Lewis, of Nassau. The latter accompanied by his brother Adolphus, entered the Netherlands. Count Aremberg, who advanced with a detachment of Spaniards, found his adversary strongly entrenched on an eminence with a deep morass in his front. His own judgment would have induced him to decline an attack ; but his troops, with loud clamours, demanded the signal for battle ; and a defeat was the consequence of their temerity. Having plunged into the bog, they were exposed, in

that difficult situation, to the fire of the enemy. A considerable number of them perished; and in a desperate charge the Count of Aremberg meeting Count Adolphus of Nassau, both of them fell by each other's hand.

Soon after this transaction, the Counts of Egmont and Horn were brought to trial. They were accused of having attempted to subvert the royal authority in the Netherlands. But their defence clearly proved that they had successfully protected the constitutional privileges of the crown, and laboured to promote the influence of the Catholic religion. At the same time they reclaimed their rights as Knights of the Golden Fleece, and appealed to the judgment of their Peers; but they pleaded before a tribunal which knew no other law than the will of the tyrant. Contrary to every principle of justice, they were pronounced guilty, and sentenced to decapitation. In vain did the Countess of Egmont appeal to her unfeeling sovereign, and remind him of the victories of St. Quintin and Gravelines, which had been gained by the valour of her consort: the inflexible monarch was not to be moved by tears, by prayers, or intreaties. Even the intercession of the Dukes of Parma and the Emperor of Germany was disregarded; and at Brussels the Counts of Egmont and Horn

met their fate with fortitude worthy of their former actions.* The people did not dissemble their indignation at this tragedy: they rushed to the scaffold, dipped handkerchiefs in their blood, and vowed vengeance on the tyrant and his satellites.

Count Lewis of Nassau, after gaining a victory with the loss of a brother, found his army increased to thirteen thousand men; but his German troops began to mutiny for want of pay. In this situation he was suddenly attacked by Alva at the head of fifteen thousand Spanish veterans, of whom three thousand were cavalry. A mutinous army could make little resistance, and Count Lewis, being defeated with the slaughter of near half of his troops, escaped from the field with great difficulty. The Prince of Orange, at the same time, had arrived with an army on the frontier of Guelderland, and issued a manifesto, in which he abjured the Romish creed, made a public profession of the reformed religion, and declared that his object in taking arms was the deliverance of his country from slavery and ruin. Although his hopes were clouded by the intelligence of the recent disasters, he continued to advance, and having crossed the Rhine, proceeded to the Meuse with-

* Fam. Strada ubi supra.

out encountering an enemy. On the opposite bank of that river he first descried the camp of the Duke of Alva. The design of the Spanish general was to guard the passage of the Meuse; but the Prince of Orange eluded his vigilance, and forded the river in a place which was deemed impracticable. The Duke of Alva, knowing the low state of the Prince's finances, cautiously avoided an action, and contented himself with watching the motions of his antagonist. He soon saw the beneficial result of so prudent a plan of operations. The mercenaries in the Protestant army began to mutiny for want of pay; and the Prince, not being able to gain possession of any of the fortresses or cities, was obliged to retire to the frontiers of Germany, and to disband his troops. The retreat of the Prince of Orange seemed to have secured the ascendancy of Alva: the inquisition exercised its fatal power with tremendous vigour; and all the efforts of bigotted zeal were directed to the extermination of heresy.

Spain, as well as the Netherlands, was agitated by the tempest of religious persecution and civil war, its natural consequence. When Grenada surrendered to the arms of Ferdinand, the protection of the Mahomedan religion had been stipulated in the articles of capitulation; and since the reign of that Prince the Moorish inhabi-

tants had cultivated in tranquillity the faith of their ancestors. But under the administration of Philip the desolating spirit of the inquisition was let loose against the Morescoes, and that unhappy race had recourse to revolt as their last but desperate resource. They chose for their sovereign a descendant of their ancient Kings; and in the mountains of Alpuxura, they maintained an active and desultory war against the Spanish armies. But their tumultuous valour was compelled to yield to the discipline of regular forces; and they endeavoured, by submission, to avert impending destruction. The Marquis of Mondegar, Captain-General of the province, gave to their deputies a favourable reception, and advised his sovereign to treat them with lenity. But such moderate counsels ill accorded with the disposition of Philip; and a royal mandate was issued, commanding all prisoners above eleven years of age, without distinction of sex, age, or condition, to be sold for slaves. Notwithstanding the hopeless situation of the Morescoes, this inhuman treatment banished from their minds every sense of their danger, and raised their fury almost to madness. The Spanish soldiers, at the same time, mutinied for want of pay, abandoned their standards, and ravaged the country; and Grenada exhibited the tumultuous spectacle of a province in revolt and an army in mutiny. The

court of Madrid was alarmed by the intelligence daily received: the disasters arising from the misconduct of the ministers were imputed to the general; and it was resolved to appoint a new commander.

It was on this occasion that the martial talents of Don Juan of Austria burst into notice. That Prince, the natural son of Charles V. by Mary of Blomberg, a German lady, was distinguished by a graceful person, animated by a spirit ardent for military enterprise. Although he was only in his twenty-second year, when Philip gave him the command of the army destined to act against the Morescoes, his activity and conduct surpassed the public expectation. But his success was greatly facilitated by the dissensions of the insurgents. Aban Humaya, whom they had elected for their sovereign, fell by assassination. Aban Aboo succeeded to his throne and his fate: their government was dissolved by discord, and the wretched people sunk into despondency. Those who were found in arms were punished by death or slavery. The greatest part even of those who had not joined the standard of revolt were torn from their native soil and transplanted into distant provinces, where they languished in poverty and contempt: a small remnant only were suffered to remain in Grenada, in order to carry on the manufactures which had formerly enriched

that kingdom. But under the iron hand of oppression commerce can never flourish nor industry exert all its activity. Such
A. D. 1570. was the termination of the war against the Morescoes, which, by its pernicious effects on agriculture, manufactures, and trade, was one of the causes of the decline of Spain.

The reign of Philip II. was destined to be ruinous to his dominions. The Netherlands were completely reduced to obedience: the pre-eminence of the Catholic church was re-established: strong citadels were erected in several of the principal cities; and the presence of Spanish troops overawed the inhabitants. Surrounded by such safeguards, the royal authority could have little to fear, and had the measures of Philip been guided by moderation, he might still have reigned over the provinces with all the power that even a despot might wish. The minds of the people had been so impressed with terror, that nothing but enormous oppression could have inspired them with courage to throw off the yoke. But the monarch and his minister seized the moment of triumph to trample on the prostrate subjects. To support the Spanish troops an annual tax of ten per cent. on all moveable goods, and of twenty per cent. on all immoveables, was imposed in spite of the remonstrances of the states, who represented the measure as

inevitably fatal to commerce and industry. Both Catholics and Protestants loudly complained ; but Alva remained inflexible. He ordered the immediate payment of the tax : the consequence was an almost total stagnation of trade ; and even agriculture was neglected. The Flemings had bowed beneath the yoke of religious tyranny ; but when they found, that to the proscription of liberty of conscience was to be joined the invasion of property, their patience was exhausted and their fears gave place to resentment. The number of the exiles was rapidly increased, and they endeavoured to extort from the sea, that subsistence which they could no longer procure from the land. Cruising along the channel, in small vessels, they seized all the trading ships that sailed under the flag of Spain, and for some time sold their prizes in the ports of England. The policy of Elizabeth, who was not prepared for a rupture with Spain, deprived them at length of this refuge. Their exclusion from the English harbours rendered a permanent station necessary, and this they procured by the surprise of Brille, a strong town in the island of Voorn, situated at the mouth of the Meuse, distant about fifteen miles from Rotterdam.

The Duke of Alva, on receiving intelligence of this unexpected event, ordered the Count de Bossut, governor of Holland, to advance towards

Brille, in order to prevent the revolt of the adjacent towns. But the exiles, conscious of their inability to contend with a force superior in numbers and discipline, had recourse to the expedient of opening the sluices; and it was only by a precipitate retreat that the Spaniards escaped from the rising inundation. This unsuccessful enterprize was succeeded by still greater reverses. The Count de Bossut, in his retreat, was refused admission into the city of Dort: Flushing erected the standard of revolt: the same spirit rapidly spread through Zealand; and the increasing number of the insurgents enabled them to commence the siege of Middleburg. Though compelled to abandon that enterprize, as well as to retire from the walls of Turgow, their successes at sea compensated the disadvantages under which they laboured by land. With a hundred and fifty of their small vessels, the exiles swept the channel, and intercepted the Duke of Medina Cœli, who, with a squadron of fifty sail, was bringing reinforcements to Alva. After a severe conflict, twenty of the largest Spanish ships were taken; and the Duke escaped with difficulty into the harbour of Sluys. These maritime enterprizes of the Flemish exiles were extremely embarrassing to Philip, who, at that juncture, was engaged in a contest which de-

manded the concentration of his whole naval force in another quarter of Europe.

Since the memorable siege of Malta, the Ottoman arms had wrested Cyprus from the Venetians; their progress had alarmed the Christian states that bordered on the coasts of the Mediterranean; and the zeal or policy of Pius V. induced him to sound the trumpet of religious war. But that holy ardour which, six or seven centuries before, had been the source of so many bloody cruises, was now extinguished. Of all the great monarchs of Europe Philip alone, whose possessions in Africa rendered him the natural enemy of the Mahomedan power, listened to the solicitations of the Roman Pontiff. He readily entered into a league with the Papal See and the republic of Venice, and engaged to defray one half of the expense of the war: three fourths of the other half were to be furnished by the Venetians, and the remainder was to be supplied by the Pope.

By the activity and diligence of the confederates a formidable armament was, in a few weeks, collected at Messina. Their fleet consisted of two hundred and fifty ships of war, having on board fifty thousand seamen and soldiers. The chief command of the united force was conferred on Don John of Austria, for whom the

pompous title of generalissimo was invented. At the same time the preparations of Selim II. were not unworthy of the successor of Solyman. He called forth the resources of his wide and warlike empire, which was then in the zenith of its power and strength ; and at his requisition the corsairs of Africa ranged themselves under his flag. Before the Christian fleet had sailed from Messina, that of the Ottomans, commanded by the Captain Pacha, the bold and experienced Hali, issued from the port of Constantinople. Having passed through the Hellespont and the Archipelago, it doubled Cape Matapan, the southernmost promontory of the Morea, and stretched along the western coast of Greece as far as the Gulph of Lepanto, where, about the beginning of October, the Captain Pacha descried the hostile sails of the confederates.

A. D. 1571. The youthful valour of Don John was stimulated by the benediction of the Roman Pontiff; and the superior strength of the Turks could not, for a moment, check his martial ardour. The signal for action was on both sides instantly displayed ; and a conflict obstinate and sanguinary beyond all description ensued. Every ship was engaged, and every man on both sides seemed to set danger and death at defiance : not a single Spaniard, Italian, or Turk, shrunk from his post, or shewed any

sign of dismay till the issue of the contest was decided. The vessels of the Turkish admiral and of Don John of Austria were opposed to each other, and closely grappled, both the commanders resolving to conquer or perish: the former was boarded by the Christians: the carnage was dreadful: Hali and most of his crew were slain, and the standard of the cross triumphantly displayed from the mast, struck terror through the Ottoman fleet. The Christian slaves, by whom the Turkish gallies were rowed, instantly burst their fetters and increased the confusion and dismay: a hundred and thirty of the Ottoman ships were captured: the greatest part of the remainder of the fleet was sunk or otherwise destroyed. Twenty-five thousand Turks were killed: above ten thousand were made prisoners, and fifteen thousand Christians, on that memorable day delivered from captivity, diffused throughout Europe the fame of Don John of Austria.

CHAP. V.

Dissentions among the Christian commanders after the battle of Lepanto.

—The confederacy dissolved.—Tunis captured by Don John of Austria.—Retaken by the Turks.—Operations in the Netherlands.—Mons surprised by Count Lewis of Nassau.—The Prince of Orange takes Ruremonde, Mechlin, &c.—Is compelled to retreat.—Licentiousness among the Spanish troops.—Siege and capture of Haarlam.—Naval successes of the Hollanders and Zealanders.—Resignation of Alva.—Character of his successor Requesens.—Spanish fleet defeated by the Flemings.—Defeat and death of Counts Lewis and Henry of Nassau.—Memorable siege of Leyden.—Mutiny of the Spanish and Italian troops.—Sack of Antwerp.—Pacification of Ghent.—Don John of Austria constituted governor of the Netherlands.—Seizes the citadel of Namur.—Renewal of hostilities.—The Flemings appoint the Archduke Matthias their governor.—Queen Elizabeth assists the Flemings.—Battle of Gemblours.—Death of Don John of Austria.—The Duke of Parma succeeds to the Regency.—Philip seizes on Portugal.—The Flemings renounce the authority of Philip, and elect the Duke of Anjou for their sovereign.

THE victory of Lepanto, one of the most glorious and decisive in the annals of naval war, though purchased with the loss of ten thousand Christians, broke the maritime strength of the Turks, and might have produced the most im-

portant consequences, had the confederates followed up the blow. But the dissentions of their leaders were fatal to the Christian cause. Don John, notwithstanding his title of generalissimo, could determine nothing of importance, without the concurrence of the Venetian and Papal commanders; and their various opinions and interests, together with their mutual jealousies, embarrassed their councils, and checked their operations. In the following year Don John made himself master of Tunis; but it was soon retaken by the Turks; an event which extinguished his hopes of erecting a new empire in Africa. Selim made vigorous exertions in repairing and reassembling his shattered and dispersed squadrons, in order to restore the ascendancy of the Ottoman flag in the Mediterranean; but a premature death put an end to his projects. The revolt of the Netherlands called for all the exertions of Spain; and Philip grew weary of wasting his strength in foreign war, and in enterprises which chiefly redounded to the glory of a brother of whose aspiring genius he began to be jealous. The death of Pious V. was also an unfavourable circumstance to the allies; and after the war had, for some time, been feebly carried on, the confederacy was dissolved.

From his retreat, in Germany, the Prince of Orange had secretly fomented the spirit of dis-

content in the Netherlands, and had received intelligence of the revolt of the greatest part of Zealand and Holland. He had collected a formidable force, and was flattered with the expectation of succours from France. Charles IX. pretending to quarrel with Philip, had promised to Count Lewis of Nassau, that a French army should march to the aid of the Flemings. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, numbers of Hugonots flocked to the standard of Nassau; and Count Lewis, at the head of an adventurous band, surprised the city of Mons without the loss of a man. The Duke of Alva, astonished and mortified at this extraordinary event, resolved to attempt the recovery of so important a place. He ordered his son Frederic de Toledo to march at the head of twenty thousand veterans, and, in a few days, Mons was completely invested. The news of the siege inflamed the ardour of the reformed in France: near five thousand of that persuasion, under the Sieur de Jenlis, hastened to the relief of their brethren. The French monarch who had concerted with Philip a deep laid scheme for the extirpation of the Protestants, could not, without exciting their suspicions, interpose his authority to stop their march; but he gave secret intelligence of their route to Frederick de Toledo. In consequence of this treachery they

were intercepted and attacked by the flower of the Spanish army. After a brave but ineffectual resistance, the French were routed with the loss of near half their number, and their commander himself was made prisoner.

On receiving intelligence of the surprise of Mons, the Prince of Orange entered the Netherlands, reduced Ruremonde, took possession of Mechlin, Nivelles, Diest, and Tirlemont, and surprised Oudenarde and Dendermont. But, at this critical juncture, all his brilliant prospects were suddenly and unexpectedly clouded by the melancholy intelligence of the massacre of the Protestants at Paris
A. D. 1572. on the feast of St. Bartholomew. He was immediately convinced that no assistance was to be expected from France: he could not be ignorant that his own resources were unequal to the contest in which he was engaged; but the pressure of affairs did not allow of hesitation: the last hopes of his religion and country rested on his perseverance and magnanimity. He resolved to attempt the relief of Mons; but his enterprise was rendered abortive by the skilful conduct of the Duke of Alva, who had joined the camp, and assumed the direction of the siege.

On the approach of the Prince of Orange, the Spanish officers pressed their general to lead them

out to battle ; but Alva, instead of yielding to their ardour, strengthened the fortifications of his camp, and cautiously avoided an action. The Prince, after making an ineffectual attempt on the Spanish entrenchments, was obliged to leave Mons to its fate. This disappointment diminished his authority over his troops ; and their disobedience and negligence afforded to the Duke of Alva a favourable opportunity of indulging the inclinations of his army. In the silence of the night a select body of infantry surprised the Protestant camp while the sentinels were asleep. The Prince of Orange, starting from his couch, formed his troops with the greatest celerity, and by his activity and valour the Spaniards were repulsed. But five hundred of the Germans had fallen in the attack ; and the survivors, breaking out into open mutiny, threatened to deliver the Prince to Alva in order to procure the payment of their arrears. The ungenerous proposal was rejected by the principal officers ; but William, perceiving the dangers of his situation, disbanded an army more formidable to its general than to the enemy, and, with a few faithful adherents, retired into Holland.

Mons soon after surrendered by capitulation, and escaped pillage ; but Mechlin and Zutphen, towns distinguished by their zeal for the Prince of Orange, were abandoned to the fury and

avarice of the soldiers, who massacred and plundered, without mercy, and without distinction of age, sex, or condition, or even of religion; and as an instance of the dreadful effects of military licentiousness when left without control, the Spaniards, who were fighting for the support of the Catholic Faith, violated the nuns, and pillaged the churches and convents as well as the houses. The ferocious Alva published a manifesto, in which he stated that Mechlin and Zutphen had suffered only the punishment which their rebellion had merited, and that all the cities which should follow their example, might expect a similar fate. These menaces were not without their effect; and the towns of Groningen, Overijssel, Utrecht, and some others, which had declared for the Prince of Orange, obtained their pardon by a timely submission.

But the maritime provinces, emboldened by their local advantages, were not to be moved either by threats or concessions. The inhabitants of Holland and Zealand had made every preparation for a vigorous resistance: in the former they had, by a solemn declaration, acknowledged the Prince of Orange as their lawful governor; but the city of Amsterdam had refused to accede to their resolutions; and amidst the general revolt of the province, the capital still remained firm in its allegiance.

To reduce the rebellious towns of Holland was the immediate object of the operations of Alva. His army, under the command of his son, Frederick de Toledo, moved forward to Naarden. That town, having refused admission to a troop of Spanish cavalry, experienced the fate of Mechlin and Zutphen; and after the soldiers had, for several days, been permitted to riot in all the crimes of military licence, their general led them to the walls of Haarlem. The siege of that city was immediately formed by an army of twenty thousand veterans, and its memorable defence has rendered it illustrious in history. The haughty spirit of Toledo resembled that of his father, and was equally impatient of opposition; but he soon beheld the exertions of which men, whose minds are animated by the love of civil and religious freedom, are capable. Week after week was consumed without any prospect of taking the place: his bravest soldiers were worn out by incessant toil, or had perished in repeated attacks, and his most experienced officers advised him to abandon the hopeless enterprise. But his inflexible father answered his communications on the subject by reproaches, which obliged him to persist in the attempt. The Duke commanded him to effect by famine what could not be accomplished by the sword,

declaring that if he abandoned the siege, he was unworthy of the name that he bore and of the blood from which he sprung, and that if he entertained such a design, he himself, though sick, would come to the camp, or in case of being prevented by the increase of his disorder, he would send for the Dukes of Alva to take the command. So severe a reproof from his father rekindled the ardour of the youthful general; and having received considerable reinforcements, he blockaded, on every side, the devoted city. The inhabitants, who had supported every toil, and braved every danger with fortitude, began to sink under the pressure of famine: a body of troops advancing to their relief was defeated in their fight; and thus being left destitute of all prospect of succour, they assembled in arms, and adopted the desperate resolution of attempting, sword in hand, a passage through the entrenchments of the enemy. The Spanish general being informed of their design, offered them a capitulation, of which the principal articles were that, on condition of paying two hundred thousand florins, the city should be saved from pillage, and the inhabitants, except fifty-seven, whom he named, should receive a full pardon. The German soldiers, who composed the chief part of the garrison, insisted on

the acceptance of the terms, and the gates were accordingly thrown open to the besiegers. But on the third day after the surrender the Duke of Alva arrived ; and the next morning ushered in a tragic scene : instead of fifty-seven, three hundred of the citizens were led out to execution. Numbers of others were afterwards butchered ; and it is said that not less than nine hundred brave men, who, trusting to the capitulation, had laid down their arms, were sacrificed to the vengeance of Alva.

But these were not all the calamities which Haarlem experienced : the Spanish and Italian foldiers were indignant at the conditions granted to the inhabitants ; the example of their commanders had taught them that treaties might be violated ; and they peremptorily demanded the payment of their arrears or the plunder of the city. Their demands were not to be resisted, and the inhabitants of Haarlem were exposed to new exactions as long as their resources could supply the avarice of the army.

The Spanish arms were not every where attended with the same success. After their departure from Haarlem, they were repulsed in an attempt upon Alcmaer, and before they could renew the attack, Alva was informed that the Hollanders had resolved to open the sluices and inundate the country. On receiving this intelli-

gence he sent orders to abandon the siege, as the only means of saving his army from the impending destruction.

In the mean while the inhabitants of Enchuyfen, Horn, and other neighbouring towns, had equipped a numerous fleet of small vessels, with which they swept the Zuider Sea, and threatened to annihilate the commerce of Amsterdam. The magnitude of the evil required the presence of Alva: he repaired to Amsterdam, where he equipped twelve large ships of war, and gave the command to the Count de Boffut: on board of these were embarked a number of Spanish veterans; and the Duke of Alva expected that the size of his ships and the valour of his soldiers would be more than a match for the superior numbers of the enemy. His hopes, however, proved illusory: the Spanish admiral was aware of the danger of attacking so superior a force; but the orders of Alva were positive. The conflict was fierce and sanguinary; but victory declared in favour of the Protestants. The Spaniards lost five of their ships: one was sunk, and four were captured: among the latter was the admiral's galley, and the Count de Boffut himself was made prisoner. About the same time the Protestants made themselves masters of Gertrudenberg, which gave them the command of the Maese.

A. D. 1573. The bloody administration of Alva was now drawing towards its conclusion : his health had of late rapidly declined ; and he solicited and obtained his recall from a station to the duties of which his constitution was no longer equal. On his departure, he boasted that, during a government of less than six years, he had caused eighteen thousand heretics to perish by the hand of the public executioner, besides a far greater number slaughtered on the field of battle and in the towns which had been reduced by his arms. The regency of Alva was one of the greatest curses that could have fallen on the Netherlands, and his sanguinary measures concurred with the tyranny of Philip in separating these provinces from the monarchy of Spain.

On the resignation of the Duke of Alva, Louis de Requesens, commandator of Castile, was appointed Regent of the Netherlands. His conciliating disposition, and his military talents, were equally calculated to allure or compel the Flemings to obedience. The first measures of his administration were to restrain the insolence of the soldiery, and to demolish the trophies with which his predecessor had insulted the people. The statue of Alva, which had been erected in the citadel of Antwerp, was removed, and every inscription that might wound the

public feelings was erased. His next object was the relief of Middleburg, which, for near eighteen months, had been closely besieged by the Protestants. For this purpose Requesens equipped, at Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, thirty ships of war, besides transports with provisions and military stores. This fleet was formed in two divisions, one of which was to force an entrance into the canal of Middleburg, while the other was to occupy the attention of the enemy. But the enterprize was productive only of disaster: one of the squadrons was totally defeated, and most of the vessels taken or destroyed: the other escaped a similar fate by steering its course back to Antwerp. With the defeat of the Spanish fleet, all the hopes of the garrison of Middleburg expired: famine had reduced them to feed on the flesh of dogs and horses; but even this ungrateful food was exhausted. The commander, Mondragon, had, by his talents and example, animated his troops to a vigorous defence; and after discharging all the duties of a foldier and an officer, he obtained an honourable capitulation.

Soon after this transaction, Count Lewis of Nassau having collected an army of near ten thousand French and Germans, penetrated into Guelderland, and pursued his march into Brabant, in order to effect a junction with his brother the

Prince of Orange, who was, for the same purpose, advancing from the maritime provinces. Requesens, being apprized of his design, dispatched Sancio d'Avila with the flower of the Spanish troops to oppose his progress. That commander found the enemy strongly posted, but confiding in the tried valour of his troops, he gave the signal of attack. The Protestants were unable to withstand the impetuous charge: on every side their entrenchments were forced: near five thousand were killed in the battle and the pursuit; and their defeat was rendered still more decisive by the death of Count Lewis of Nassau, his brother Count Henry, and the Count Palatine, who fell sword in hand in the midst of the carnage.

This fatal action obliged the Prince of Orange to retreat; nor would he have found it easy to regain the frontiers of Holland, had not the Spanish soldiers sullied, by their mutinous conduct, the glory which they had acquired in battle. With dreadful menaces they demanded the payment of their arrears; and rejecting the evasive promises of their general, they marched to Antwerp and fixed their quarters in that opulent city. Notwithstanding the presence and expostulations of the Regent, it was only by the distribution of a hundred thousand florins that they were prevailed on to take the field. This

scene of military revolt was productive of a serious disaster : Requesens, apprehensive that the mutineers might take possession of the fleet which he had equipped at Antwerp, removed the ships out of the reach of the cannon : in this situation they were suddenly attacked by the Zealanders : most of them were destroyed or sunk, and the rest were rendered unfit for service.

Convinced of the inefficacy of arms, the Regent attempted, by conciliatory measures, to re-establish the royal authority. An act of indemnity was published in the name of the King ; but a condition, with which it was clogged, rendered it nugatory. It was required that the Protestants should conform to the established church, and the proposal was consequently rejected.

At this juncture the siege of Leyden occupied the arms of the Spaniards. That city had been closely blockaded more than three months : the inhabitants had endured every calamity that famine could inflict ; and all the exertions of the Prince of Orange were unable to afford them relief. But though their bodies were wasted with hunger and fatigue, their minds remained firm, and their courage undaunted. The Spanish General, being apprized of their distress, proposed a capitulation ; and their magnanimous

answer, that they would eat the flesh of their left arms, and fight with their right, has transmitted their renown to posterity.* By the device of carrier pigeons they informed their friends of their situation;† and as it was impossible to relieve them by land the sluices were opened, the Dykes of the Maese and the Iffel were broken down, and the surrounding country was laid under water to procure access to the city with their fleet. The Spaniards were driven from the lower grounds; but they still kept possession of their higher positions, and the blockade was continued. The unwholesome food which hunger obliged the inhabitants to use, produced a pestilential distemper which, in the space of a few weeks, swept off several thousands; and so dreadful were the effects of famine and sickness, that the living were scarcely able to bury the dead. At length the moment of their deliverance arrived: towards the end of September, a strong wind, setting in from the north west, forced the sea with great violence over the land, and the plains of Leyden were converted into a vast lake. A retreat was the only alternative which the Spaniards had left; but this was not

* The reader will compare the pusillanimous conduct of the modern Dutch with the fortitude of their ancestors.

† The pigeons appear to have been previously interchanged. The letters were fastened under their wings. Vide Strada de Bell. Belg.

effected without great difficulty and loss. They were pursued and attacked on every side by the Zealanders who advanced over the inundated country in their boats, and more than fifteen hundred fell by the sword or perished in the waters. The victors sailed triumphantly into Leyden at the moment when the inhabitants were reduced to such extremity, that had the blockade continued a few days longer they must all have fallen the victims of famine.

A. D. 1574. The obstinate resistance of the Netherlanders rendered the Regent extremely desirous of an accommodation. A negotiation was commenced under the auspices of the Emperor Maximilian ; but as the King of Spain remained inflexible on the subject of religion, the conferences were broken off, and the appeal to the sword was renewed. After a siege of nine months, the valour of the Spanish troops, and the enterprising genius of their commanders, erected the royal standard on the walls of Zuricksee ; but the success of that enterprise was counterbalanced by the death of Requesens, which soon after happened ; and was followed by new scenes of calamity.

The daring courage of the Spanish and Italian troops was not more formidable to their enemies than to their friends. Their refractory and

mutinous spirit broke out afresh, and they erected their standard at Alost. The arrears due to them were the pretext for insurrection. The council of state was unable to satisfy their demands or restrain their violence. They elected new officers, surprised the town of Alost, and laid the neighbouring country under contribution. The council of state issued a proclamation, declaring them rebels; but its authority and menaces were totally disregarded. The garrison of Antwerp followed their example: an open war commenced between the soldiers and the citizens; and the thundering of the cannon was heard by the mutineers at Alost. "To arms, to arms!" was the unanimous cry: without a moment of delay they rushed forward to the support of their brethren in Antwerp, and, precipitating themselves on the devoted city, they forced an entrance in spite of the inhabitants and the Walloon guards, who were incapable of sustaining their impetuous attack. In their headlong course they bore down all opposition; and above seven thousand Flemings fell in an ineffectual attempt to defend the city. A dreadful scene of pillage ensued. Companies of merchants, from every commercial nation had fixed their residence in Antwerp, which had been, for some time, the greatest emporium in the world: their habitations were adorned with the most costly

furniture : the warehouses were filled with the most valuable commodities. This immense accumulation of wealth afforded a plentiful harvest to the Spanish soldiers ; and during three successive days the city was exposed to pillage. The quantities of gold and silver, and of rich merchandize, that were seized or destroyed, have never been estimated ; but the sum of eight millions of guilders, extorted in cash from the terrified inhabitants, is an evidence of the prodigious opulence of that commercial city.

A similar spirit of rapacity actuated the troops which composed the garrison of Ghent. In a sally from the citadel they were repulsed by the inhabitants ; but the states being sensible of the inequality of the contest, and apprehensive of a disastrous issue, resolved to implore the assistance of the Prince of Orange. William readily undertook their defence : with a chosen body of troops he advanced to Ghent, and, in conjunction with the inhabitants, compelled the Spaniards to evacuate the citadel.

This important service, together with the circumstances from which it arose, greatly promoted the views of the Prince of Orange, who had already projected a scheme for uniting all the provinces. Oppressed by military violence, and grateful for the recent assistance which he had imparted, the states adopted his plan. A

Congress was held at Ghent, and a treaty of confederacy was concluded, in which all the provinces, except Luxemburg, were comprised.

By this treaty, so well known by the name of the pacification of Ghent, it was agreed that all the provinces should unite their forces in order to expel the Spanish troops ; that as soon as tranquillity should be re-established, a general assembly of the states should be held for the purpose of reforming abuses and restoring the constitution to its primitive purity ; that the Prince of Orange should be confirmed in his offices of high Admiral, and governor of the maritime provinces ; that all exiles should be reinstated in their possessions and dignities ; that in the Catholic provinces the ancient form of worship alone should be exercised ; but that in Holland and Zealand all matters, civil and religious, should remain as they then stood, until definitively settled in a general assembly of the states.

The continued resistance of the Netherlands, and the various disorders which convulsed those provinces, induced Philip to commit the reins of government to the vigorous hand of Don John of Austria, who, on his arrival at Luxembourg, ratified the pacification of Ghent, and engaged that all the foreign troops should depart from the Netherlands, and not return without the

consent of the states. In consequence of these conciliatory measures, Don John was received as Captain General and governor; and for a moment the aspect of affairs seemed to promise the return of tranquillity. The sum of six hundred thousand florins were granted for the payment of the Spanish and Italian troops: the money was immediately distributed among them; and these brave but ferocious bands began their march from the Netherlands. But it was not without regret that Don John had complied with the positive orders of the court. The laurels of Lepanto had served only to inflame his ambition, and increase his ardour for military pursuits; and he beheld, with concern, the departure of these intrepid veterans on whose swords he might have relied for augmenting his glory. The Germans had not yet evacuated the Netherlands, and while he affected to urge their retreat, he secretly exhorted their leaders to maintain their posts. Under the specious pretext of procuring money from Spain for the more speedy discharge of their arrears, he dispatched his secretary, Escovedo, to solicit the return of the Spaniards and Italians. In order to facilitate the execution of his plans, he seized, by surprise, the citadel of Namur, alleging that the measure was necessary for his safeguard against a conspiracy which threatened his life. The states, anxiously desiring

to prevent the return of the calamities of war, sent a deputation to intimate, that if he would name the conspirators they should be brought to trial, and severely punished on proof of their guilt. But a legal prosecution would have been far from advancing his views, and a few anonymous letters were the only evidence of the pretended conspiracy. He declared, however, his resolution not to return to Brussels, unless the states would invest him with the absolute command of their forces, and break off all communication with the Prince of Orange.

This declaration was the signal for an open rupture between the Regent and the states. But the counsels of the latter were greatly embarrassed by the jealousies which existed between the Catholics and the Protestants; and the former having the Duke of Arescot at their head, in order to overturn the power of the Prince of Orange, invited the Archduke Matthias, the brother of the Emperor, to assume the government of the Netherlands. The Prince of Orange, contrary to expectation, acceded to the proposal: that penetrating statesman perceived that great advantages might be derived from this alliance; and by his advice, the Archduke was received as Regent. The elevation of Matthias, however, did not induce the Emperor to deviate from his neutrality. Of all the powers of

Europe England alone espoused the cause of the states. Conscious of the latent enmity of Philip, Elizabeth engaged to furnish his revolted subjects with money and troops : but, at the same time, she assured him that her only design was to prevent the provinces from throwing themselves into the hands of some other power ; and the Spanish monarch, not being yet prepared for a rupture with England, pretended to accept the feeble apology.*

Philip, however, was determined to act with vigour, and ordered the return of the Spanish and Italian troops to the Netherlands, under the conduct of Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma. On the junction of these forces with the Germans, Don John attacked the army of the states at Gemblours, and, with the loss of only two hundred men, gained a victory which was marked by the slaughter of three thousand Flemings. With the same ease and rapidity he reduced Louvain, Sichem, and Nivelles ; but, on the banks of the Diemar, he experienced a reverse of fortune. Contrary to the advice of the Prince of Parma, he attacked the Count de Bossut in his entrenchments, but was repulsed with the loss of a considerable number of his bravest veterans ; and finding himself unable to keep the field

* Camden, p. 466.

against the armies that were ready to pour upon him, he retired to Namur to wait for the reinforcements which he expected from Spain and Italy. But Philip, growing daily more jealous of the ambition of Don John, began to suspect that he aimed at the sovereignty of the Netherlands. The march of fresh troops to those provinces was therefore postponed; and instead of being joined by new armies, Don John received the alarming intelligence that his confidential secretary, Escovedo, had been assassinated at Madrid. He was not at a loss to conjecture both the cause and the author of so daring a crime. The death of Don John, A. D. 1578. which happened soon after, at the age of thirty-two, has, by the generality of historians, been attributed to poison; but the supposition rests only on dark rumours without any thing like evidence. It is certain that a fever terminated his career, and it is probable that his malady was caused by extreme anxiety of mind at seeing himself disappointed in his expectations.*

His death devolved the Regency on Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, the greatest commander of his age. At this time the affairs of

* Strada ascribes the jealousy of Philip to the artifices of the Prince of Orange. See the account of the death of Don John, in *Fam. Strad.* De Bel. Belg. 1st.

the Netherlands had a formidable aspect, and demanded all the courage and skill of so able a governor. Charles IX. King of France, had encouraged his brother, the Duke of Anjou, to aspire to the sovereignty of the Netherlands, hoping by that means to get rid of the restless and turbulent spirits that constantly menaced the repose of his own dominions. The Duke, with a strong body of troops, was already encamped in the vicinity of Mons, and had assumed the title of Protector of the Netherlands, while forty thousand Germans, under Prince Casimir, had passed the Rhine and the Maese. But all these mighty preparations were rendered ineffectual by the dissensions and jealousies of the Flemings and their auxiliaries. The French and the Germans retired; and the Prince of Parma reduced Maestricht after a siege of three months. This consummate statesman and general employed the arts of negotiation, as well as the efforts of arms, and dexterously availing himself of the divisions of the Flemings, concluded a treaty with the southern provinces, which returned to their allegiance on condition that the Italian and Spanish troops should be withdrawn, to which Philip more readily consented, as he was meditating other wars which promised full employment to their restless and enterprising courage. The Prince of Orange, at the same

time, endeavoured to counterbalance the secession of so considerable a part of the Netherlands by a new treaty of perpetual confederacy between the northern provinces, which, from the place where it was signed, was distinguished by the name of the Union of Utrecht. But the Prince being greatly embarrassed by the mutual suspicions of the Protestants, and the King of Spain impatient to assert his pretensions to the crown of Portugal, a negotiation was commenced in order to effect an accommodation; and it was only the inflexibility of Philip, in regard to religion, that prevented a pacific result.

While the Spanish monarch was, by his imprudence and bigotry, losing the Netherlands, his good fortune, and the valour of his troops, threw into his hands a most important acquisition in making him master of Portugal and her vast empire, established by so many important discoveries and conquests in Africa, Asia, and South America.* Sebastian, King of Portugal, having passed into Africa to support the claims of the exiled King of Morocco, Muley Mahomet, who had been expelled from his throne by his uncle, Muley Moluc, had, together with the two Moorish Kings, fallen in a bloody engagement.

* Exclusive of Brazil, in America, the Portuguese were masters of the coast of Africa from the Straits of Gibraltar to those of Babelmandel, together with the maritime parts of India and the oriental isles.

His great uncle, the Cardinal Henry, was his immediate successor; but his years and infirmities allowed him not to indulge a hope of long holding the sceptre; and after a reign of little more than a year, he expired without deciding on the claims of the different pretenders to the crown.

Of these the principal were Philip, King of Spain; the Dukes of Braganza; the Duke of Savoy; and Don Antonio, prior of Crato; all of them grand children of Emanuel the Great, the father of Henry. The right of primogeniture favoured the claim of the Dukes of Braganza; but it was maintained by the Spanish civilians, that in equal degrees of consanguinity the preference was due to a male before a female. Philip and the Duke of Savoy were descendants by the female line, but the right of primogeniture rested with the former. Don Antonio, as well as the Dukes of Braganza, derived his descent from the male branch; but the marriage of his father, Don Lewis, could not be proved, and he was pronounced illegitimate. But the comparative merits of their different pretensions was a matter of small importance: Philip was certainly the most powerful claimant; and even before the death of Henry, he had taken the most judicious measures for assuring to himself the succession. Under the pretence of an approach-

ing war with the King of Morocco, he had equipped a formidable fleet and levied large bodies of troops in Spain and Italy.

But the Portuguese had the greatest aversion both to the dominion of Spain and to the character of Philip; and though the Duke of Braganza despaired of being able to assert the claim of his consort against so powerful a competitor, the prior of Crato was not restrained by the same apprehensions. Don Antonio had no sooner erected his standard, than he was joined by crowds of his countrymen, and in Lisbon he was proclaimed King amidst the acclamations of the people.

Though the Duke of Alva was then in disgrace, and banished from court in consequence of an amour in which his son had been engaged with one of the female attendants of the Queen; yet to his tried fidelity and talents, Philip had recourse in order to secure the succession to the throne of Portugal. The loyalty and ambition of Alva superceded every emotion of resentment; and, although bending under the weight of years, he took the command of the army. Two battles decided the fate of Portugal: in the first the Duke of Alva commanded in person; the Portuguese being broken by the vigorous attack of the veterans of Spain, lost three thousand men in the conflict; and Lisbon im-

mediately submitted to the victors. The second engagement took place on the banks of the Douro, where Don Antonio, at the head of an army of peasants, hastily collected and rudely armed, was easily defeated by a chosen detachment of Spaniards under Don Sancio d'Avila. From the disastrous field Antonio escaped to Viani: he afterwards embarked on board a trading vessel; but was driven back by a tempest, and, in the disguise of a sailor, eluded the pursuit of his enemies. Philip set a price of eighty thousand ducats on his head; but such was the aversion of the Portuguese to the Spanish government, or their attachment to the unfortunate Prince, that, although he lay for some months concealed in the country, no one could be tempted by so splendid a bribe to betray him into the hands of his adversary. Philip was now assured of the submission of A. D. 1580. Portugal, and the example of the mother country was followed by the wealthy colonies in America, Africa, and the oriental parts of Asia.

CHAP. VI.

Greatness and power of the Spanish empire.—The Flemings renounce the authority of Philip, and elect the Duke of Anjou for their sovereign.—Attempt to assassinate the Prince of Orange.—Operations of the war.—Rapid successes of the Duke of Parma.—Death of the Duke of Anjou.—Assassination of the Prince of Orange.—His character.—Siege and capture of Antwerp by the Duke of Parma.—The Queen of England sends the Earl of Leicester with an army to the assistance of the states.—The Earl of Leicester recalled.—The office of governor and captain-general conferred on Prince Maurice of Nassau.—Philip II. equips his invincible armada for the conquest of England.—Disastrous issue of that expedition.—Views of Philip on the crown of France.—Operations of the Duke of Parma in France and the Netherlands.—His death and character.—Revolt in Arragon.—The Archduke Albert appointed governor of the Netherlands.—His operations in these provinces and in France.—Cadiz taken and plundered by the English.—Disordered state of the Spanish finances.—Philip transfers the sovereignty of the Netherlands to the Archduke Albert.—Concludes a peace with France.—Death of Philip II.—His character.—Fatal effects of his reign on the prosperity of Spain.

THE Spanish monarchy was now in the meridian of its splendour, and if the grandeur of sovereigns be measured by extent of dominion, Philip might justly regard himself as the greatest monarch

that had ever existed. To his vast possessions already enumerated, he had now annexed the immense commercial and maritime empire of Portugal, comprising Brazil in America, and stretching round the coasts of Africa and Asia from the Straits of Gibraltar almost to China. Even the Netherlands might yet have been recovered: these provinces, though confederated for their mutual defence against oppression, had not yet renounced their allegiance. The Union of Utrecht had not produced all the advantages which had been expected. The army of the states was ill paid, and the troops often supplied themselves by plundering the people. The Archduke Matthias, an inexperienced youth, bore the name but was incapable of discharging the functions of governor. In these circumstances they would still have returned to their obedience to Philip, could they have obtained security for their religious freedom and political privileges; but the last negotiation had extinguished their hopes. Things were now come to a crisis. The Prince of Orange exhorted the states to cut boldly the gordian knot; and as no hope remained of conciliating Philip to transfer their allegiance to some other Prince who should be able and willing to defend them.

The assembly of the states proceeded to deliberate on the proposal: Those deputies,

who spoke in favour of the King, expatiated on the right of inheritance and the sanctity of the oath of allegiance : on the other side of the question were urged the rights of the subject, and the constitution of the Netherlands, in which the engagements between the Prince and the people were strictly mutual. At length it was determined by a great majority to reject, for ever, the authority of Philip, and to confer the sovereignty of the Netherlands on some foreign Prince. The advice of the Prince of Orange, and the encouragement held out by the Queen of England, united the suffrages in favour of the Duke of Anjou. The sovereignty of these opulent provinces was a splendid allurements to a young Prince, vain, rash, and ambitious ; and the Duke readily signed a treaty of which the principal articles were, that he should govern according to the original constitution of the Netherlands, that he should make no innovations in religion, but afford equal protection to the Catholics and the Protestants, that, if he should die without issue, the states should elect his successor, and that the Netherlands should in no case be annexed to the crown of France.

The haughty spirit of Philip was more than ever inflamed by this open rejection of his authority. He justly attributed the measure to the Prince of Orange ; and his vindictive mind

adopted a mode of vengeance as unworthy of his dignity, as it was congenial with his disposition. He published an edict of proscription against the Prince, in which he offered a reward of twenty-five thousand crowns, besides the pardon of all previous crimes to any person who should take away his life. In answer to this proscription the Prince published a vindication of his conduct, which, in a masterly strain of eloquence, exposed the tyranny and injustice of his persecutor.

A. D. 1584. The election of the Duke of Anjou was followed by the departure of Matthias, who was contented to retire with an annual pension of fifty thousand guilders, settled on him by the states. In the mean while the Prince of Parma, although deprived of the flower of his army by the recall of the Spanish and Italian veterans, had, with the Walloon troops that followed his standard, taken the field and formed the siege of Cambray; the relief of that city was therefore the first object of the new sovereign. With twelve thousand foot, and four thousand horse, the bravest of the warriors of France, the Duke of Anjou advanced to the relief of Cambray. The Prince of Parma retired on the approach of this new adversary; and the Duke entered the city in triumph amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants.

But it was not to the sovereignty of the Netherlands alone that the ambitious views of the Duke of Anjou were confined. He had flattered himself with the hopes of obtaining Queen Elizabeth in marriage, and after the relief of Cambray, he embarked for England to solicit her hand and support. In this romantic expedition, he consumed the time which might have been successfully employed in expelling the Prince of Parma from the Netherlands; and the disadvantage arising from delay was too great to be compensated by the succours obtained from England. Elizabeth, however, received him with the strongest marks of esteem, and even of affection; and although her prudence declined the matrimonial alliance, of which he had fondly indulged the hope, her policy furnished him with money and ships to second his enterprises.*

A. D. 1582. In the beginning of February he returned from England to Flushing, and proceeded with his fleet to Antwerp. The banks of the Scheldt, and the avenues which led to the palace, were lined with above twenty thousand citizens in arms; and the Duke having sworn to protect the constitution, received, in

* For the negotiations relative to the marriage of the Queen Elizabeth with the Duke of Anjou, see Rapin's Hist. Eng. vol. 2. book 17.

return, the oath of allegiance, amidst the acclamations of the people.

But the public joy was soon changed into mourning, in consequence of a desperate attempt on the life of the Prince of Orange. The perpetrator of this daring crime was John Jauregui, a young Biscayen, servant to Gaspar Anaistro, a banker of Antwerp, of desperate fortune, who had received a bond, transmitted from Spain, for the payment of eighty thousand ducats, as soon as the Prince should be assassinated. The courage of Anaistro was not equal to the daring enterprise; and he committed the execution to his servant, whom an enthusiastic and intrepid disposition taught to disregard every danger. Jauregui, having procured admittance into the castle, watched an opportunity and discharged a pistol at the Prince. The ball entered a little behind his right ear, and passing through his palate and upper teeth, came out on the opposite side. The news of this event immediately spread through Antwerp, and it was rumoured that the French were the authors of the crime. In an instant the people poured in crowds from every quarter, and rushed to the palace where the Duke of Anjou resided: but a note from the Prince convinced them of the injustice of their suspicions. When William fell senseless

On receiving the wound, the assassin was dispatched by the imprudent zeal of the guards: but a paper, found in his pocket, discovered his accomplices. Anastro had fled; but his secretary and the priest were seized and condemned to death, having made a full confession of their guilt. After some time the Prince was pronounced out of danger; and his recovery diffused universal joy.

In the mean while the operations of war were resumed: the Spanish and Italian veterans were ordered to return to the Netherlands; and their arrival enabled the Prince of Parma to take the field with hopes of success that were speedily realized. Before the close of autumn he had reduced Cambray, Ninove, and Gaesbec, and menaced Brussels. The progress of his arms roused the United States to more vigorous exertions: they doubled their revenue, and maintained, besides their native troops, numerous bands of English, French, and German adventurers. The Duke of Anjou also obtained from his brother, Henry III. a body of eight thousand veterans under the command of Marechal Biron, a reinforcement with which he might, at least, have checked the progress of the Prince of Parma.

A. D. 1583.

But instead of seeking to establish his constitutional throne in the Nether-

lands, the Duke of Anjou, dissatisfied with his limited power, formed the design of seizing some of the strongest towns.* His first attempt was on Antwerp; but the French were overpowered, and many of them massacred by the citizens. More than fifteen hundred of his troops fell the victims of this wild and perfidious project, and the Duke sought shelter within the frontiers of France. The treachery of their new sovereign became the immediate subject of deliberation in the assembly of the States. The Prince of Orange represented that, with their own strength, they could not expect to resist the formidable power of Philip, and that their only hopes of safety rested on an accommodation with the Duke of Anjou. His arguments made a deep impression on the minds of the deputies; and the rapid successes of the Prince of Parma gave them additional weight. That able general had vigilantly observed and dexterously improved the moment of dissention. He had reduced Dunkirk, Nieupoort, Dixmude, and Menin, by arms, and seized Zutphen and Bruges by fraud: every hour contracted the territories and diminished the hopes of the Flemings. Their last dependence was on the Duke of Anjou: the States

* M. Le Presid. Henault says the Duke of Anjou took this step contrary to the remonstrances of the Duke de Montpensier and the Marechal de Biron. Ab. Chron. An. 1583.

consented to acknowledge him again as their sovereign ; a measure which nothing but necessity could recommend. But while they anxiously waited his return at the head of a powerful army, they were deprived of his support by his death. He expired in the thirty-first year of his age, after his treachery and incapacity had rendered him an object of pity to his friends, and of derision to his enemies.

Notwithstanding, however, the defects of his character, the Duke of Anjou, supported by his brother, the King of France, might be considered as a powerful opponent to Philip : and his death, at this critical juncture, was regarded by the States as an unfortunate event. But the embarrassment which it occasioned was soon carried to the highest degree of alarm and apprehension by a still more important and fatal disaster. The horrid project, which had failed in the hand of Jauregui, succeeded in that of a second assassin. This wretch, whose name was Balthazar Gerard, was a native of Burgundy. By a pretended zeal for the reformed religion, he had gained the confidence of the Prince of Orange, who had distinguished him by several marks of favour. But insensible to gratitude, and prompted by avarice, he undertook the murder of his patron in order to merit the reward offered by Philip. Having met with a favourable opportunity, he discharged

a pistol, and lodged three balls in the body of the Prince, who exclaimed, "God have mercy on me and this people," and almost instantly expired in the presence of his disconsolate wife, Louisa, daughter of the celebrated Admiral Coligny, whose severe destiny condemned her to be the spectatress of the murder of her second husband, after having witnessed the tragical end of her first consort M. de Telnig, and her father, the admiral, on the fatal eve of St. Bartholomew. The justice of heaven did not permit the assassin to reap the promised reward : his flight was intercepted, and he suffered the punishment due to his crime. Thus perished the famous William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, founder of the republic of the United Provinces, which was once so opulent and powerful, but is now converted into a monarchy, and become an appendage to the Bonapartean family. William was one of the greatest men of his age : his name has descended with lustre to posterity ; and history has preserved the portrait of his person as well as of his character. In his appearance he had nothing imposing : he was somewhat below the middle stature : his head was bald, his visage was thin, and his complexion was fallow : in his manners he was unassuming, in his disposition thoughtful and taciturn ; but perhaps no human mind ever possessed a more equal mixture of

calm prudence, enterprising courage, and persevering fortitude.* As an able general and a consummate politician, he was calculated to shine either in the field or in the cabinet; but it was chiefly in the latter that he distinguished himself by the extent of his views and the wisdom of his counsels, and merited the title of the friend and father of his country.

The fatal blow which sent the Prince of Orange to the tomb, overwhelmed the States with the most gloomy apprehensions. His second son, Prince Maurice, then eighteen years of age, succeeded to the honours of his father;† but his youth and inexperience disqualified him from entering the lists against the Prince of Parma, who, pushing forward his conquests, reduced Villevorden and Dendermond by arms, and obtained possession of Ghent and Brussels by negotiation. In fulfilling his treaties with the two latter cities he acquired a high reputation, not only for scrupulous integrity but also for moderation; and by the most alluring promises of future indulgence, he endeavoured to reconcile the minds of the Flemings to his government and to the sovereignty of Philip.

* Strada de Bello Belgico, lib. 1.

† His eldest son Philip William, Count of Buren, was still prisoner in Spain.

After these successes the Prince of Parma resolved on the siege of Antwerp, an arduous enterprise considering the advantages of its situation, the strength of its works, and the number and valour of its citizens. But the mode in which it was conducted evinced the superior genius of the commander, and stamped on his name a lasting celebrity. Instead of directing his efforts against the solid walls and bastions, which seemed impregnable, he occupied every avenue that led to the city, and waited the flow but certain effects of famine. Six months were diligently employed in the herculean labour of constructing a bridge across the broad stream of the Scheldt below the city, in order to prevent the entrance of supplies by the river. The vigilance of the Prince of Parma was extended to every part, and his foresight provided against every occurrence: the sallies of the besieged were repulsed: the mines and machines of Giambelli, a celebrated Italian engineer, were counteracted or eluded; and the confederates, who advanced with a fleet to break down the bridge, were compelled, after a bloody struggle, to relinquish the attempt, and resign Anwerp to its fate. The stock of provisions being at length exhausted, and no hopes of succour remaining, the city surrendered by capitulation, and was

preserved from plunder on paying a contribution of four hundred thousand guilders to satisfy the urgent importunities of the victorious troops. In the harbour of Antwerp the Prince of Parma found a considerable fleet, which proved a valuable acquisition, as by it he was enabled to encounter the squadrons of the maritime provinces which had long insulted the flag of Spain.

The rapid progress of the Prince of Parma inspired the States with the most serious alarms, and they became every hour more sensible of their inability to support themselves against Spain without the assistance of some foreign power. In this extremity, surrounded with difficulties and dangers, they turned their eyes towards France, and offered to Henry III. the sovereignty of their country. At that crisis the famous Catholic league, with the Duke of Guise at its head, had concluded, with Philip, a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive, which menaced the throne of Henry. This Prince might, by accepting the sovereignty of the Netherlands, have found employment for the restless spirit of his own subjects, and for the forces of the monarch of Spain. But his character was too weak to venture on so decisive a measure; and contrary to the sage advice of Francis de Noailles, Bishop of Acqs, he rejected the ad-

vantageous proposal.* From Paris the negotiations were transferred to London; and the sovereignty of the Netherlands was offered to Elizabeth. The question produced great debates in her councils; but while the most sagacious of her ministers advanced opposite opinions on the subject, the cautious policy of the Queen induced her to steer a middle course to prevent the Netherlands from falling again into the hands of Philip, but to refuse a sovereignty which would have excited against her the jealousy of her neighbours. She therefore agreed to furnish the states with an army of five thousand foot, and one thousand horse;† these were commanded by the Earl of Leicester, whose address and graceful person had recommended him to the favour of his sovereign; but who wanted the qualities requisite for the command of an army.

A. D. 1568. Leicester, however, was received in the Netherlands with the greatest demonstrations of joy, as if the people had thought that his presence brought certain deliverance.‡ But they soon discovered the fallacy of their hopes. The Prince of Parma captured Venlo and Nuys, and invested Rhim-

* M. de Henault condemns the weakness of Henry in refusing the sovereignty of the Netherlands. *Hen. Ab. Chron. An. 1584.*

† Rymer's *Fœd.* tom. 15. p. 801.

‡ Camden, p. 511.

berg. An action between the van of the Spanish army and the English was rendered memorable by the death of the famous Sir Philip Sidney : the confederates claimed the honour of the victory ; but they were soon compelled to retreat before the Prince of Parma.

In the moment of premature confidence the States had conferred on Leicester the dignity of governor-general ; but in his civil as well as his military capacity he fell far short of their expectation : the public joy which honoured his arrival gave way to the cry of general discontent , and the Earl, wearied with their clamours, embarked for England.* But the Flemings, conscious that on the friendship of Elizabeth depended all their hopes, consented again to receive her favourite. Leicester crossed the sea a second time with a numerous reinforcement, and accompanied by a splendid train of nobility. The distress of Sluys, closely besieged by the Prince of Parma, called him to immediate action. The English general, with an army equal, at least, to that of the besiegers, advanced towards Sluys ; but on receiving intelligence of the approach of Farnese to give him battle, he retreated with precipitation and abandoned Sluys

* The dignity of governor and captain-general was conferred on the Earl contrary to the intentions of Elizabeth. Stow, p. 712.

to its fate. The inhabitants obtained, from the generosity of the Prince of Parma, a more favourable capitulation than their extreme distress had allowed them to expect. But if the arms of Leicester afforded little hope to the States, his arts soon excited their apprehension; and perhaps the jealousy of Prince Maurice might contribute to foment their suspicions. The Earl was accused of secretly labouring to suppress the council of the States, in order to augment his own authority. A plot which was formed to give him possession of Leyden was detected: the conspirators were condemned and executed; and the criminal project put an end to all confidence between Leicester and the States. He resigned his office of governor-general, and was recalled by Elizabeth, who appointed Lord Willoughby to the command of the English auxiliaries.* And the office of governor and captain-general was conferred, by the States, on Prince Maurice.

It was not in the Netherlands alone that Elizabeth displayed her hostility to Philip: she carried the war into the most distant and defenceless parts of his dominions, and sent the famous Sir Francis Drake and General Carlisle with a squadron of twenty-one ships to attack the

* Rapin, vol. 2. book 17. p. 134 and 135.

Spanish settlements in the West-Indies.* Drake plundered St. Jago, St. Domingo, and Carthagena, destroyed the towns of St. Anthony and St. Helena, on the coast of Florida, and the riches which he acquired in these expeditions, excited among his countrymen the spirit of adventure.

The ambition of Philip had been gratified by the easy conquest of Portugal, and he had scarcely yet doubted of ultimately reducing the Netherlands. The measures of Elizabeth had excited his resentment, and he resolved to consummate his vast projects by the invasion, and, if possible, the subjugation of England. During the space of three years his extensive dominions resounded with naval preparations. In the ports of Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Sicily, a fleet was constructed which, in regard to the magnitude of the ships and complete equipment, was the most formidable that had ever appeared on the ocean. It consisted of a hundred and thirty ships, having on board 19,295 soldiers, 8,450 sailors, and 2,088 galley slaves, and carrying two thousand six hundred and thirty pieces of brass cannon.† The Marquis of Santa Cruz was appointed admiral of this fleet, which was

* Camden, p. 509. Hollingh. p. 1401.

† Strype's Ann. vol. 3. p. 519.

filed the Invincible Armada, a name expressive of the high expectations of Philip, who flattered himself that the conquest of England would be the certain recompense of his exertions. But while the fleet was preparing for sea, Elizabeth, apprized of its destination, dispatched Sir Francis Drake with a squadron to the coast of Spain. The English admiral directed his first efforts against the port of Cadiz, where he burned above a hundred vessels laden with victuals and ammunition, and two galleons freighted with rich merchandise. He afterwards destroyed several Spanish ships at the mouth of the Tagus; and steering towards the Azores, captured a rich carac returning from the East Indies.* The damages sustained, on this occasion, obliged Philip to defer, till the next year, his expedition against England.

A. D. 1588. The Invincible Armada was at

length got ready for sea, and the death of the Marquis of Santa Cruz had devolved the command on the Duke of Medina Cœli. The instructions of the admiral were, that he should sail for the Flemish coast, where the Duke of Parma was to embark with thirty thousand men,†

* Cavendish, another English commander, was, at the same time, employed in ravaging the coasts of Chili and Peru. Rapin's Hist. England, vol. 2. book 17. p. 134.

† Camden states the Duke of Parma's army at a hundred and three companies of foot, and four thousand horse. Camden, p. 543.

and to take the command of the whole army. They were then to proceed to England, and the fleet was to be stationed at the mouth of the Thames in order to co-operate with the army, which was to march directly to London.

Such was the plan of this grand expedition destined for the conquest of England. In the mean while Elizabeth and her ministers, who were sensible of the magnitude of the danger, had provided, with great diligence and care, every possible means of defence. The English fleet, which was inferior to that of Spain, both in the number and size of the ships, was commanded by Lord Howard of Effingham, High Admiral of England, who had for his Vice-Admirals, Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher, all of them men of consummate skill in naval affairs; and Lord Henry Seymour, a distinguished commander, was stationed with forty sail of English and Dutch ships off the coast of Flanders, to prevent the embarkation of the Duke of Parma. In every county the militia was assembled; and the regular forces of the kingdom, which scarcely amounted to more than eighty thousand men, were distributed in the most judicious positions. But the English ministers, being aware of the danger of a contest with so formidable an army, composed of the best troops, and commanded by the greatest general in Europe,

it was resolved, in case the Spaniards should effect a landing, to lay waste the country before them, for the purpose of preventing them from obtaining any provisions, except such as they brought in the fleet.

While the cabinet of London was employed in concerting these measures of defence, the Armada sailed on the 29th of May, 1588, from the Tagus.* But it had been only a few days at sea before it was dispersed by a violent tempest. The scattered ships being assembled at Corunna, and their damages repaired, the Duke of Medina Cœli again put to sea on the 12th of July, and steered for the channel, which he entered on the 19th, and on the 20th he passed the English fleet, which followed him and captured some of his ships. On the 23d, the wind having changed to the north, the Armada bore down upon the English fleet, and a brisk engagement ensued. The Spaniards, however, notwithstanding their superiority both in the number and size of their ships, gained no advantage. The Spanish admiral urged the Duke of Parma to embark with his troops; but the measure was impracticable: his fleet was ill provided with victuals: many of the mariners had deserted; and the English and

* Rapin says the Armada sailed from the Tagus on the 3d of June, vol. 2. book 17. p. 136. I have followed Camden's account.

Dutch squadrons were advantageously stationed to prevent him from joining the Armada. The Spanish admiral therefore judged it necessary to approach the coast of Flanders, in order to cover the embarkation of the Duke and his army at Dunkirk and Nieupoort. On the 27th the Armada cast anchor off Calais, being closely followed by the English, who lay within cannon shot and were joined by several more ships, some of which were fitted out by the government and others by private adventurers, so that their fleet was augmented to about one hundred and forty sail. While the Spaniards were lying off Calais the English admiral sent in the night eight fire ships into the midst of their fleet, on which they instantly cut their cables and put to sea to avoid the impending danger. The Duke of Medina Cœli had ordered every ship to return to her station as soon as the danger was passed; but his signals were disobeyed, and the fleet remained in a state of dispersion. A part of it bore away to the northward, and the rest of the ships, being driven towards the coast of Flanders, were exposed on one hand to the danger of shipwreck on the shoals, and on the other to the attacks of the English, who kept up an almost continual cannonade. Several of the Spanish ships were disabled, and two galleons were taken by the Zealanders. A north-west wind having

driven the Spaniards on the coast of Zealand, they were in great danger of being wrecked, and the English, in order to avoid being exposed to the same catastrophe, desisted from the pursuit. A south-west wind at last relieved the Spaniards from their distress; and the Duke of Medina Cœli, convinced that the execution of his project was impracticable, determined to steer northward, and by circumnavigating the British islands to effect his return to Spain, especially as a part of his fleet had already taken that course. In this long and tedious navigation the Spaniards encountered numerous dangers and difficulties, and suffered great loss. The English admiral followed them at a small distance till they passed the Frith of Edinburgh, and then left them to pursue their course. But their misfortunes were not yet terminated. Near the Orkneys, their fleet was dispersed by a storm; and several of their vessels were wrecked. On the coast of Ireland they met with still greater disasters: a dreadful tempest arising drove seventeen of their vessels on shore. At length, after having lost above half of his ships, and more than one-third of his men, the Duke of Medina Cœli arrived about the end of September in Spain, with sixty ships, the shattered remains of the Invincible Armada. How great soever might be the mortification of Philip on seeing the failure of this

vast project, he concealed his emotions under the ostensible appearance of magnanimity and pious resignation, and returned thanks to the Sovereign of the Universe that the event had not been more calamitous.*

Such was the fate of one of the most celebrated expeditions that history records. Its unsuccessful termination was a mortal blow to the maritime power of Spain. The English soon proved to the world that they could attack as well as defend. They harrassed the coasts of Galicia and Portugal, insulted Lisbon, burned Vigo, and frequently intercepted the galleons which brought home the treasures of Mexico and Peru. From that period Spain no longer possessed the naval superiority which had rendered her the mistress of the ocean and the terror of Europe.

The Prince of Parma soon felt, in the want of remittances, the effects of the late disastrous enterprise in which Philip had engaged contrary to his advice and remonstrances; and the want of money crippled his exertions. He gained possession of Gertrudenberg by the treachery of the garrison; but he failed in an attempt on Bergen-op-Zoom, and was repulsed from the walls of Romersval and Heusden. The

* For accounts of the Spanish expedition vide Strype's Ann, vol. 3. Camden, p. 543—549.

decline of his health compelled him to have recourse to the waters of Spa; and on his return he found the army which he had left under the care of Count de Mansveldt, in a state of mutiny. The soldiers demanded, with loud and imperious clamours, their arrears, and were with difficulty appeased by the distribution of whatever money the Prince could raise, and the promise of punctual payment in future. But this was not the only mortification which the Duke of Parma experienced. Breda, one of the strongest cities of Brabant, was surprised by a small body of soldiers concealed in a boat, apparently laden with turf, and introduced into the place in the middle of the night, when the garrison was drowned in wine and sleep, an event which affected the Duke with an equal degree of chagrin and astonishment.

The King of Spain, in the mean while, though unable to reduce his revolted subjects, or to protect his immense coasts and numerous colonies from the depredations of the English, was meditating new acquisitions; and his ambitious desires were inflamed by the splendid temptation of the crown of France. Henry III. had fallen by the hand of an assassin; and though the King of Navarre (afterwards Henry IV.) was the undoubted heir, the Catholics refused to acknowledge the authority of a Protestant King.

The aged Cardinal of Bourbon was proclaimed in Paris by the Duke de Mayenne, who had succeeded the Duke of Guise as chief of the league; but the more violent members of the confederacy had reluctantly concurred in the nomination, and privately encouraged the King of Spain to aspire to the crown.

Philip could not resist the flattering prospect of ascending the throne of France, or at least of placing upon it his eldest daughter Isabella. But he was too cautious openly to avow his design, and confined his immediate pretensions to the title of protector of the league. The King of Navarre, having defeated the Duke of Mayenne at Ivry, had invested Paris, A. D. 1590. and the death of the Cardinal of Bourbon, happening at that critical juncture, Philip sent positive orders to the Duke of Parma to conduct his army, with the utmost expedition, into France, and to make the most vigorous effort for the relief of the capital. The Duke attempted to divert him from his design, by representing the dangerous consequences which the absence of his troops must produce in the Netherlands, and the extreme uncertainty of the advantages which he expected to derive from the league. But all his remonstrances were ineffectual: the orders of Philip were positive; and the Duke of Parma, leaving Bruffels at the

head of seventeen thousand veterans, advanced to Meaux, within about thirty miles of Paris. By a series of skilful manœuvres he eluded the vigilance of Henry : he stormed, almost in his sight, the walls of Legui, captured St. Maur and Charenton, and relieved the capital.

After these successes the Duke of Parma carried Corbeil by assault ; but finding that the Duke of Mayenne, and the other chiefs of the league, had already conceived suspicions of the designs of Philip, he determined to return to the Netherlands. In order, however, to prevent the Catholics from being overwhelmed, he left six thousand men to support the league, and began his march with the rest of his army. The advanced season of the year, the bad state of the roads, and the close pursuit of the enemy, all contributed to render his retreat extremely difficult. But every obstacle gave way before his superior genius : his rear was constantly harrassed by the forces of the King of Navarre ; but the country was diligently reconnoitred by his light cavalry, and his camp was every night secured by entrenchments.

In this skilful and masterly manner the Duke of Parma effected, with an inconsiderable loss, his retreat to the Netherlands. On his arrival he found that his absence had given rise to the evils which he had foreseen and predicted. The

troops had mutinied for want of their arrears, the important towns of Zutphen, Deventre, Hulst, and Nimeguen, were taken by Prince Maurice; and before the Duke could check the career of the enemy, the distress of the league, and the positive orders of Philip, required him to march back to France.

A. D. 1591. On his arrival in that kingdom, about the end of December, he was joined by the Duke of Mayenne; and the first object of the combined armies of Spain and the league was the relief of Rouen, then closely besieged by the King of Navarre. The ardour of Henry to make himself master of that city precipitated him into an engagement with the van of the Spaniards. In this action, which took place near Aumale, Henry was defeated: most of his followers were slain, and he himself being wounded, escaped with difficulty. The Duke of Parma, then commencing a vigorous and skilful train of operations, twice obliged Henry to raise the siege of Rouen, and afterwards made himself master of Candbee, situated in the peninsula of Caux, which is formed by the confluence of the river D'Eu with the Seine. At the taking of that place the Duke was wounded in the arm by a musket shot, and was scarcely recovered before Henry, with his whole force, advanced to attack his position. The Duke im-

mediately perceived that no other expedient remained than to attempt a passage across the Seine. To the Duke of Mayenne, and all the most experienced officers, the enterprize appeared impracticable; but the bold and inventive genius of the Prince of Parma enabled him to surmount every obstacle. He collected from Rouen a number of boats and rafts: the rising grounds, between him and the army of Henry, screened his movements from the sight of his antagonist: he seized the favourable moment of a thick mist, and while his cavalry threatened a serious attack on the works of the enemy, his infantry, with the artillery and baggage, safely crossed the broad and rapid stream of the Seine; the cavalry followed with the greatest celerity; and two batteries, judiciously erected, secured the rear.* Thus Henry, who had flattered himself with the hopes of a decisive victory, saw himself completely baffled by the superior skill of his adversary; and his mortification was proportioned to the confidence of his expectations. The Duke of Parma continued his retreat to the Netherlands; but there the prospect was on every side gloomy and menacing. His finances were exhausted, and, from the want of pay, the

* This retreat is said to have been effected partly through the connivance of the Marech. de Biron. Vide Hen. Ab. Chron. An. 1592.

spirit of revolt daily gained ground in his army, while his enemies acted with increased unanimity and vigour. Disease and disappointment pressed upon his sinking frame : the hardships of fourteen successive campaigns, in which he had never shrunk from fatigue or danger, had totally undermined his constitution, and his death deprived the King of Spain of a general whose valour and sagacity had re-annexed to his crown a great part of the Netherlands. Impartial history will ever commemorate the name of Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, as the greatest commander of his age ; and his death, at that critical juncture, was a fatal blow to the ambitious designs which Philip had formed.

The tyranny of that monarch was equally felt in the Netherlands and in Spain. Don Antonio Perez, who had been his instrument in the murder of Don Escovedo, is said to have been the rival of his monarch in an amorous intrigue with Anna Mendoza, Princess of Eboli. With the private connivance of Philip a process was instituted by the widow and children of Escovedo against Perez, who, being thrown into prison, found means to make his escape into Arragon, his native country, where he expected to avail himself of the peculiar privileges of that province, and having appealed to the Justiza, was assured of an impartial trial before his tribunal.

But the pretensions of that judge were despised by Philip: at the command of the monarch, the prison of the Justiza, at Saragossa, was forced, and Don Perez was carried off by the Marquis of Almenar. This violation of their privileges excited a general insurrection of the inhabitants of Saragossa: Don Perez, being rescued from the hands of the inquisitors, was again lodged in the prison of the Justiza, and the Marquis of Almenar was mortally wounded in the tumult.

The lawyers of Saragossa were ordered to examine the case, and being either corrupted or intimidated by Philip, declared that, as the prisoner had been accused of holding a correspondence with the heretics of France, it belonged to the inquisition to take cognizance of his cause: the Justiza, on the contrary, disregarding their opinion, persisted in refusing to deliver up his prisoner. But the Viceroy having assembled the officers of the inquisition, broke open the state prison, and seized Don Perez in order to carry him to Madrid. The people arose a second time and rescued the prisoner, who, seizing the favourable opportunity, immediately made his escape into France.

In consequence of this resistance to his will, Philip ordered Alphonso Vargas to march against Saragossa; and the Arragonese, encouraged by the exhortations of the Justiza, immediately

began to prepare for defence. But they had no able leader; and the rapid advance of Vargas afforded them no time for military organization. That general therefore met with little opposition: he entered Saragossa and seized the Duke of Villa Hermosa, the Count D'Aranda, and the Justiza: the two first were sent prisoners to Madrid: but the Justiza was put to death without trial: his effects were confiscated: his houses were levelled to the ground; and a proclamation was issued denouncing the same punishment against all who should dare to dispute the will of the sovereign. Although the constitutional forms were suffered to remain, the absolute power of the crown was firmly established. The palace of the inquisition, at Saragossa, was fortified so as to answer the purpose of a citadel; and a strong body of troops was placed in that city to overawe the inhabitants.

While Philip trampled upon the rights of his subjects, he lavished their blood and their treasures in the vain attempts of reducing the Netherlands, and obtaining for himself or his family the crown of France. But seeing that his arms had been attended with no permanent advantage, he endeavoured, by negotiation, to place on the throne of France his daughter Isabella, and a proposal to that effect was made

by the Duke de Feria, his ambassador, to the assembly of the States at Paris. Even the most violent of the Catholic party abhorred a measure which must have rendered France little better than a province of Spain, yet, conscious of their inability to contend with Henry, unless supported by Philip, they concealed their real sentiments under an affected solicitude concerning the choice of a consort for Isabella.

But while the King of Spain and the Catholic party in France were employed in deceiving each other, and bewildering themselves in a labyrinth of negotiation and intrigue, they were surprised by an event equally important and unexpected. Henry perceiving the determined opposition of the league, and dreading the machinations of Spain, came to the resolution of abjuring the Protestant religion, and read, in

July 25, the church of St. Denis, his public
A.D. 1593. confession of the Catholic Faith. This was a mortal blow to the ambition of Philip; but that monarch, instead of abandoning his intrigues, resumed them with redoubled ardour, and offered the hand of his daughter Isabella to the son of the Duke of Mayenne. So flattering a proposal attached that powerful chief to the cause of Philip: their interests were united; and they resolved to carry on the war against Henry with vigour.

But the King of Spain was far from possessing the means of accomplishing his vast and ambitious designs. Since the death of the Duke of Parma, Philip had no general that was qualified to enter the lists with the King of France. His treasury was exhausted, and his credit was reduced so low that the Genoese and other Italian merchants, from whom he had already borrowed many millions, refused to lend him any more. His commanders in the Netherlands were unable to raise new levies : and from want of money to pay the arrears of the army, the officers found it impracticable to maintain their authority. The Spanish and Italian troops openly erected the standard of revolt : they elected new officers and a commander in chief, and exercised the most oppressive rapacity on the inhabitants of the southern provinces. Their example was soon followed by the Walloons : the country was plundered in the most merciless manner ; and the Flemings never suffered so much from their avowed enemies as from their nominal protectors.

On the decease of the Duke of Parma, the government of the Netherlands was committed to the Count de Mansveldt, who was superceded the next year by Ernest, Archduke of Austria, who marched with an army into France to the support of the league. But Paris had already ac-

known Henry, and the Spanish general arrived only to be convinced, that all the hopes of his master respecting the crown of France were illusory. The Archduke, in the mean while, was unable either to resist the arms of Maurice, or to curb the turbulence of his own troops : an active and vigilant enemy could only be feebly opposed by a mutinous army : the constitution of Ernest sunk under the pressure of incessant care and disappointment ;
A. D. 1594 he expired, and was succeeded by the Count de Fuentes, whose short administration was marked by the reduction of Cambray under the dominion of Spain.

During the transient rule of Fuentes the drooping fortunes of Philip seemed to revive ; but this did not prevent him from transferring the government of the Netherlands to the Archduke Albert, who had, for some time, been Viceroy of Portugal. The new governor was accompanied by Philip William, the eldest son of the late Prince of Orange : the policy of the King of Spain induced him at length to liberate that nobleman from his captivity, in the hope that his pretensions might divide the influence of the House of Nassau. But the prudence and justice of Prince Maurice disappointed his views : he relinquished his paternal fortunes to his elder brother ; and Philip William, who by

his Spanish education, and his attachment to the Catholic religion, was prevented from acquiring any influence in the revolted provinces, passed his days in a tranquil and happy obscurity.

The Archduke Albert commenced a train of vigorous and successful operations on the frontiers of France as well as on those of the revolted provinces. While the King of France was occupied in the reduction of La Fere, the Archduke captured the important town of Calais; and the neighbouring fortresses of Ardres soon after yielded to the efforts of his arms. But the approach of Henry checked his career and compelled him to retreat from Picardy. On this reverse Albert directed his whole force against the United States, and, after a vigorous siege and defence, made himself master of Hulst, a place strong both by nature and art, and supplied with a numerous garrison. But while his arms were occupied in this quarter, Mareschal Biron, with a French army, broke into Artois, drew the Spanish troops into an ambuscade, and, having defeated them with great slaughter, ravaged the southern provinces.

While such was the state of the Netherlands, Spain herself began to experience the calamities of war, from which she had so long enjoyed an exemption. Ever since the defeat of the Armada

Philip had been intent on retrieving his loss and revenging his disgrace. He had long meditated an attack on Ireland, where he expected an easy conquest, and had assembled for that purpose a respectable naval and military armament. The Queen of England was aware of the impending danger, and resolved, if possible, to dissipate the storm before it approached her dominions. In this view she equipped a powerful armament, consisting of above a hundred and fifty vessels, having on board seven thousand mariners, and eight thousand troops. The fleet was commanded by the Lord Howard of Effingham, and the land forces were placed under the direction of the Earl of Essex.* This force was joined by twenty-two sail of Dutch vessels, with seven thousand troops. The destination of this armament was totally unknown until it June 20.
A. D. 1596. appeared off Cadiz, where the Spaniards, not expecting an attack, were unprepared for defence.† The ships of war, however, being drawn up at the entrance of the bay, resisted from day-break till noon the superior force of the English; but at length the Spaniards were overpowered: some of their vessels were taken,

* Vide Stowe, p. 772. Cambden, p. 591.

† For an account of this engagement vide Cambden, p. 592, &c.

others destroyed, and the rest were driven on shore.

In the mean while the Earl of Essex landed his troops, and a body of Spaniards, which had advanced to meet him, being driven back and pursued to the city, the English entered along with the enemy. Cadiz being thus taken almost without resistance, was plundered by the English: the booty was immense, and would have been much greater had not the Duke de Medina, who lay with a small body of troops near the place, set fire to the merchant ships in Port Real. The loss which Philip and his subjects sustained on this occasion, has been estimated at not less than twenty millions of ducats.* The Earl of Essex was desirous of keeping possession of Cadiz; but all the other commanders considered the proposal as chimerical; and dreading the approach of a Spanish army, they hastily embarked with the plunder, and sailed directly for England.

In order to avenge this loss and disgrace, Philip resumed, with redoubled ardour, his design of invading Ireland. The arrival of the fleets from America with a fresh supply of treasure, enabled him to equip a hundred and twenty-

* Stowe says that a hundred pieces of cannon were either taken or sunk by the English. Stowe, p. 775.

eight ships of war and transports, with fourteen thousand soldiers on board, besides a great number of Irish refugees, and an immense quantity of military stores. Elizabeth and her ministers, lulled into an ideal security by the recent success at Cadiz, had paid no attention to the preparations of Philip, and were ignorant of his design. The Spanish fleet, commanded by Don Martin de Padilla, set sail from Ferrol; and had it reached the place of its destination, the consequences might have been fatal to the power of the English in Ireland. But providence interposed. The hostile armament was overtaken by a tempest off Cape Finisterre; and about forty of the vessels were lost. After this disaster, Padilla returned to Ferrol, and the enterprise was relinquished.

In France and the Netherlands the arms of Philip were attended with a variety of success and disaster. Near Tournhout five thousand Spanish veterans, commanded by the Count de Vares, were, through the incapacity of their leader, defeated by Prince Maurice at the head of an equal number of troops. The victory of the Prince was complete; and two thousand of the Spaniards, with their commander, were slain. This loss was compensated by the capture of Amiens, which was surprised by a body of three thousand Spaniards, commanded by Porto Carero,

governor of Dourlens. Henry resolving to recover, if possible, a city of such importance, and so near to Paris, put himself at the head of his army : Amiens was soon invested ; and the siege and defence were conducted with an equal degree of vigour.

The disorder which prevailed in the finances of Philip crippled his military exertions. The bankers of Genoa and Antwerp refused him a loan ; and so great were his embarrassments that, during the space of five months, the Archduke was unable to take the field through the want of remittances from Madrid. No sooner, however, was Albert relieved from his pecuniary difficulties than he marched, at the head of near thirty thousand men, to the relief of Amiens. But Henry kept close within his intrenchments ; and the Archduke, being unable to bring him to action, was obliged to retire and leave the besieged city to its fate. Nor was the loss of Amiens the only mortification that Albert was destined to experience. To form an army for this expedition he had weakened the garrisons of Flanders ; and Prince Maurice, availing himself of the circumstance, had reduced several towns and expelled the Spaniards from the left bank of the Rhine.

So many disasters at length opened the eyes of Philip to the vanity of those flattering dreams

by which he had been so long deluded. His advanced age and broken health admonished him of his approaching dissolution ; and he was unwilling to leave his inexperienced successor involved in a doubtful and dangerous war. Peace was equally desirable to Henry in order to establish his authority, and to heal the wounds of his kingdom. Through the mediation of the Roman Pontiff a treaty of peace was concluded at Vervins, by which Henry relinquished his claims on Cambray, but obtained the restitution of Calais and the other towns of France, which Philip had acquired at the expense of so much blood and treasure, and of which the conquest, even had they remained in his possession, would have been more than counterbalanced by the losses which his support of the league had caused him to sustain in the Netherlands.

After the disappointment of his views on the crown of France, Philip had conceived the design of transferring the sovereignty of the Netherlands to his daughter Isabella,* whom he intended to give in marriage to the Archduke. Seeing the determined aversion of these provinces to the dominion of Spain, he considered this as the only method of securing the possession

* Henault, by mistake, calls this Princess Clara Eugenia. Ab. Chron. An. 1598.

of them in his family, and resolved to carry the project into immediate execution. By a formal deed of abdication he resigned the sovereignty of the Netherlands and of the country of Burgundy to Isabella and her future consort, with the proviso that their issue should not marry without the consent of the crown of Spain, and that in default of posterity, these provinces should again revert to the Spanish monarchy.

This was the last important transaction of the reign of Philip II. Death was approaching with rapid strides, and in his last moments he appeared greater than in any other period of his life. An hereditary gout increasing in violence as he advanced in years, had undermined his constitution; and several imposthumes had gathered in his breast and his knees. During more than two months of excruciating torments, while he languished in the agonies of death, he exhibited an example of patience, firmness of mind, and pious resignation, which entitles him to the admiration of posterity. Having, some time before his death, ordered his coffin to be brought into

Sept. 12.
A. D. 1598.

his chamber, and placed within his view, he expired in the seventy-second year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign.

The character of Philip II. has, by Protestant writers, been painted in the blackest of colours,

while the Catholics have endeavoured to soften the harsh lineaments of the portrait. For his restless and unbounded ambition, the predominant passion of those whom the world calls great men, politicians might, perhaps, find an apology. Impartial history, however, must execrate his intolerant bigotry and tyrannical despotism, and confess that he inherited all the vices of his father, Charles V. with few of his virtues. He possessed all his dissimulation without his imposing affability, and all his ambition without his magnanimity. His bigotry might, in some measure, be considered as the vice of the age; but he had others that were properly his own. Besides being inordinately ambitious, he was unfeeling, vindictive, and relentless. But with all these vices he was not totally destitute of good qualities. He possessed a firmness of mind which prevented him from being either elated by prosperity or depressed by adversity: vigilant and indefatigable in business, his eyes were continually open over every part of his extensive dominions: he examined, with care, every branch of administration: he watched over the conduct of his ministers with unwearied attention, and in his choice both of them and his generals, he displayed a considerable degree of sagacity: hackneyed in politics and hardened in tyranny, he was a stranger to mercy; but

where his bigotry or lust of power did not interfere, his subjects seldom had cause to impeach his justice. As a patron of the arts the character of Philip shines conspicuous. The massy pile of the escorial exhibits in its plan and construction greater expense than judgment; but the elegant taste with which it is adorned, has ever commanded the admiration of spectators. The pension which Charles V. had granted to Titian was punctually continued by his son: Antonio Moro and Alonso Cœllo, two famous Spanish painters, were supported by his bounty, and honoured with his familiarity; and throughout the whole reign of Philip, the architect, the sculptor, and the painter, were rewarded with royal munificence.

But the characters of Princes are not of greater importance than those of other men, except as they influence the destiny of nations; and considered in this light, the administration of Philip reflects no lustre on his memory. The advantages with which he commenced his reign have already been noticed. The claims of hereditary right, supported by arms, annexed the Portuguese monarchy to that of Spain, an acquisition that overbalanced the want of the imperial crown which had decorated the brow of Charles V. his predecessor, and formed for the son an empire

more extensive and opulent than the father had ever possessed; while the improvement of the mines of America constantly increased his revenue. Had Philip not forced the Netherlands into a revolt, or had he condescended to effect a reconciliation by restoring their privileges, and afterwards directed his attention to the encouragement of agriculture and commerce throughout his immense territories, the union of the two monarchies of Spain and Portugal would have formed an empire more commercial, more opulent and powerful, as well as more extensive, than any that the world had ever seen. But amidst those numerous advantages, such as no nation has ever possessed, Spain has severely felt the effects of an administration which counteracted all the blessings of fortune. The bigotry and tyranny of Philip lost him the Netherlands, the most opulent part of his dominions, and converted the Flemings from obedient subjects to determined enemies. In respect to these provinces, the whole conduct of Philip displays an obstinacy which has scarcely any parallel in the annals of government. The prudence of the Dukes of Parma had extinguished the first sparks of revolt; but the tyranny of the sovereign kindled a new flame. Notwithstanding, however, the calamities under

which the Netherlands had groaned, the door long remained open to reconciliation: and thirteen years of open war had elapsed before any of the provinces formally renounced their allegiance. This was surely a period of trial sufficiently long to have opened the eyes of the most arbitrary tyrant. But Philip inflexibly persisted in his resolution of erecting, if possible, his despotic throne on the mangled carcases of his subjects. The growing wealth of Mexico and Peru was exhausted in the fruitless attempt; and posterity is astonished to hear that the sovereign of the most opulent dominions in the world was often unable to pay his armies. His long reign was an almost uninterrupted series of bloody and ruinous wars, most of which were occasioned by his tyranny and ambition: his revolted subjects, and their allies, intercepted, in every quarter, the commerce of his wealthy and extensive empire, enriched themselves at its expense, and struck at the root of its naval strength. In proportion as the opulence and power of the United Provinces increased, the resources of Spain were diminished; and from the revolt of the Netherlands that kingdom must date its decline. It is worthy of remark, that although the lust of power was the ruling passion of Philip, and although his whole life was con-

fumed in schemes of aggrandisement, the annals of the world scarcely exhibit an instance of a monarch whose reign was more fatal to the greatness of his nation.

CHAP. VII.

State of Spain at the accession of Philip III.—Influence of his minister the Duke of Lerma.—Unsuccessful expeditions of the Spaniards against Africa and Ireland.—Character of the Marquis de Spinola.—Peace between Spain and England.—Memorable siege of Ostend.—Exhausted state of Spain.—Military operations in the Netherlands.—Commercial and military successes of the Hollanders in the East and West Indies.—Influx of wealth into Holland.—The Spanish fleet defeated in the bay of Gibraltar.—Truce for twelve years between Spain and the Seven United Provinces.—Expulsion of the Moreoscos from Spain.—Impolicy of that measure.—Views of Henry IV. of France.—His tragical death.—War between Spain and France.—Conspiracy between the Viceroy of Naples, the governor of Milan, and the Marquis of Bedmar, for seizing the city of Venice.—Dismissal of the Duke of Lerma.—His son, the Duke of Uzeda, succeeds him in the ministry.—Rise and fall of Calderona.—Philip III. engages in the Bohemian war.—Successes of Spinola.—The Duke of Ossuna frustrated in his design of rendering himself sovereign of Naples.—Death of Philip III.—His character.—Effects of his reign.

PHILIP III. the son and successor of Philip II. found Spain in a state of exhaustion and languor. By her various exertions by sea and by land, and by the migrations to the new world, her population was greatly reduced: the wealth drawn from the American mines, had, in the

prosecution of ruinous wars, and in the purchase of naval and military stores, been transported to other countries: Agriculture was neglected, and commerce was nearly annihilated. To rectify a machine so greatly deranged, required an able hand: the inexperience of Philip, who ascended the throne at the age of twenty-one, was unequal to the task; and his minister, the Duke of Lerma, though a polished courtier, was destitute of the qualifications requisite for steering the vessel of the State through a difficult navigation.

The marriage of Isabella with Albert had taken place; and the King confirmed the renunciation of the sovereignty of the Netherlands made by Philip II. in their favour. Spain was therefore no more than an auxiliary in the war which was still carried on against the revolted provinces. The Archduke, in receiving his new sovereignty, had been flattered with the most liberal promises of assistance from the court of Madrid; but the profusion and incapacity of the minister left him little to hope from that quarter. Albert, however, having a considerable army of Spanish veterans in the Netherlands, defeated, with great slaughter, a detachment of the troops of the States at the bridge of Lessingen, but was soon after defeated by Prince Maurice at Nieuport, with the loss of three thousand of

his bravest troops. The Prince soon after relinquished the siege of Nieuport ; and Albert commenced that of Ostend. The entrance of the canals was blocked up to intercept the communication of the town with the sea, and the various expedients of mines and batteries were employed for the reduction of this important place. At length the Spanish and Italian troops, with that intrepid courage for which they had long been renowned, gave a general assault, which, in spite of the heavy and incessant fire from the ramparts, they continued with such perseverance that the issue began to be doubtful, till the governor adopting the expedient of cutting the sluices, the rushing in of the waters obliged the assailants to retire, after losing about fifteen hundred men in the desperate enterprise. After this fruitless attempt the siege of Ostend was changed into a blockade. Albert was still encouraged by assurances of a liberal support from the court of Madrid. But the Duke of Lerma, who, in the name of Philip, governed Spain, found himself totally unable to fulfil his splendid promises. A general murmur was heard throughout the kingdom ; and even the royal palace echoed with complaints of the neglect of agriculture and the decay of trade and manufactures. Common sagacity must have perceived that peace was the only remedy for the wounds

which a long series of wars had inflicted on Spain; but the blind obstinacy of the court persisted in its impotent efforts to continue a languid and ruinous war. A royal edict was issued enjoining all churches, corporations, and individuals, to deliver in their plate, that it might be converted into coin. But it was found impracticable to carry this arbitrary act into execution: the clergy represented it as an attack on the privileges of the church: the nobles considered it as an invasion of property; and Philip and his minister were obliged to relinquish the measure.

The Duke of Lerma being thus disappointed, adopted another expedient, which in the reign of Philip II. had been frequently practised; he mortgaged the expected remittances from America: a considerable sum of money was raised; and large bodies of troops were levied in Italy. The Duke was desirous of distinguishing his administration by some splendid enterprise; and the reduction of Algiers, and the conquest of Ireland, were the objects of his preparations. Both these enterprises, however, failed of success. Ten thousand soldiers, embarked on board of seventy galleys, reached the African coast; but a violent tempest prevented their landing; and the shattered fleet gained, with great difficulty, the ports of Sicily. The expedition to Ireland

consisted of ten ships of war, with six thousand veteran troops, commanded by Don Juan D'Aguilar, who, with four thousand of his men, possessed himself of the town of Kinsale, while the other two thousand landed at Baltimore, and joined the Earl of Tyrone. But being soon attacked by Lord Montjoy, at the head of a body of well disciplined troops, the Irish immediately fled; and the Spaniards, after an obstinate resistance against a force greatly superior to their own, were defeated with the loss of more than half their number. The Spanish commander in Kinsale, on receiving intelligence of this event, was convinced that the court of Madrid had deceived itself in regard to the nature of the enterprise; and, abandoning all dreams of conquest, contented himself with an honourable capitulation, which provided that he and his forces should be carried back to Spain by an English squadron.

A. D. 1603. Albert, in the mean while, received but little assistance from Spain; and the siege of Ostend was protracted in a long and tedious blockade, while Philip III. wasted his strength in rash and ill calculated enterprises. At this critical juncture the Marquis de Spinola made his appearance on the military theatre. This celebrated commander, who attempted to prop the falling fortunes of

Spain, and long supported the reputation of her arms, was one of the most illustrious and opulent of the nobles of Genoa. In the tranquil enjoyment of private life he had attained his thirtieth year, when his emulation was excited by the naval achievements of his younger brother Frederick, who had cruised, with great success, against the commerce of the United States. With a considerable body of troops, raised at his own expense, he intended to serve on board his brother's squadron. But Frederick being mortally wounded in an engagement with the Dutch fleet, his death determined the Marquis to relinquish his naval projects, and to try his talents and fortune by land. He repaired to the camp of Albert before Ostend ; and the Archduke soon discovered his superior abilities. The death of Queen Elizabeth, and the pacific disposition of James, her successor, were circumstances favourable to Spain ; and the following

A. D. 1604. year a treaty of peace was concluded
 between the courts of Madrid and
London.

Being thus delivered from the hostility of England, Albert resumed his operations with increased vigour. Impressed with the highest opinion of the talents of Spinola, he devolved on him the command of the army, and the prosecution of the siege of Ostend, which, during the

space of two years, had baffled all the efforts of his arms. The first care of the new general was to provide for the regular pay of his army, and to deprive the soldiers of every pretext for disobedience and mutiny, which, ever since the reign of Charles V. had proved so embarrassing to the Spanish commanders. But finding the military funds unequal to the demands of the troops, his thirst of fame induced him to overlook every consideration of interest; and by mortgaging his own estates, he raised a sum sufficient to extricate him from his pecuniary difficulties. But while he pushed forward his attacks with unceasing impetuosity, Prince Maurice, in order to make a diversion in favour of Ostend, invested Sluys with a numerous army. Spinola, in obedience to the orders of the Archduke, though contrary to his own judgment, advanced to its relief. He found the army of the States in a strong position; and in two different attacks on its lines was repulsed with considerable loss. On his retreat Sluys was obliged to capitulate; but the surrender of that important fortress stimulated Spinola to urge the siege of Ostend with redoubled vigour. The assaults were repeated with a desperate impetuosity and unremitting perseverance: at length the troops of the garrison were driven from the outworks, and the assailants gained possession of a redoubt which

commanded the town. The besieged being left without hopes, the governor, had no other means of saving the garrison from destruction than a timely surrender; and Spinola granted him an honourable capitulation. Thus terminated, on the twentieth day of September, 1604, the celebrated siege of Ostend, which had continued more than three years, and had cost Albert the lives of above sixty thousand of his troops,* with the loss of the important towns of Rhinberg, Grave, and Sluys.

The Archduke had acquired in the Marquis of Spinola, a general whose prudence and enterprising genius might be successfully opposed to the abilities of Prince Maurice. But one grand obstacle, the exhausted state of his finances, retarded his military operations. Spinola, whose various talents were equally calculated for negotiation or war, was dispatched to solicit pecuniary assistance from Spain. On his arrival he stated to the court of Madrid the necessity of either making greater exertions or of resolving to put an end, as soon as possible, to the contest. The haughty spirits of the ministers were averse to peace; but the finances of Spain were unequal to the continuance of war. The scarcity

* Henault says the siege of Ostend cost the lives of 140,000 men on both sides. *Ab. Chron.* vol 2. An. 1604.

of specie was grown to such a height that, by a royal edict, the nominal value of the copper coin had been raised nearly equal to that of silver, an absurd and pernicious expedient, which served only to augment the evil which it was intended to remedy. Counterfeit copper money was poured into Spain by the neighbouring nations, who disposed of it below its nominal, but far above its intrinsic value, and often received gold and silver in return. The effects of this illicit traffic were, that the precious metals had almost disappeared, and the whole kingdom exhibited an uniform scene of poverty and distress.

But Spain, being delivered from the war with England, had no longer to dread the numerous cruisers of that nation. The ministers, therefore, had reason to hope that the influx of treasure from America would, in future, be greater and more regular, and they gave to Spinola the most animating assurances of liberal remittances to enable the Archduke to carry on the war, with vigour, in the Netherlands.

Encouraged by his reception at Madrid, Spinola returned to Brussels, and both sides prepared for a vigorous contest. Prince Maurice was directed by the States to make an attempt on Antwerp ; but, on his approach to that city, he found its reduction impracticable ; and on the

banks of the Scheldt, the two illustrious rivals faced each other without daring to hazard a battle.

Besides the assurances of pecuniary supplies, Spinola had received the promise of a veteran regiment from Spain, with large bodies of new levies from Italy. But while he anxiously expected their arrival, the Spanish veterans were intercepted by the Dutch cruisers. Of eight transports four found shelter in the port of Dover: the four others were taken; and the unhappy prisoners were, by the barbarous policy of the victors, bound in pairs, and thrown into the sea, a crime which cast an indelible blemish on the Dutch nation and the Protestant party, as the tyranny of Philip and the cruelty of Alva had disgraced the Spanish character and the Catholic religion, and afforded a melancholy proof, that a sanguinary disposition is not peculiar to one sect or people.

A. D. 1605. The reinforcements from Italy were more fortunate; and their arrival enabled Spinola to commence an active scene of operations. He left the Count of Berg to watch the motions of Prince Maurice: with the rest of his army he crossed the Rhine, and traversed, with amazing rapidity, the Duchies of Cleves and Westphalia. His progress was facilitated by the order which he caused to be observed:

all supplies were punctually paid for; and the inhabitants readily repaired to a camp which afforded them a good market for the produce of their farms. From these neutral countries Spinola penetrated into the Province of Overyffel; the town of Oldenzel yielded on the first summons, and Lingen, after a feeble resistance. Prince Maurice advanced to stop his progress; but his efforts were unsuccessful. The Dutch were unable to withstand the Spanish and Italian troops, whose first charge often threw them into confusion. They were repulsed in an attack on Gueldres: the garrison of Wachtendonc surrendered while the works were yet entire. The exhortations and example of Maurice could no longer inspire them with confidence; and Spinola, every where victorious, led his troops into winter quarters after a triumphant campaign.

But although military operations had ceased for a season, Spinola did not spend the winter in a state of inaction. He again repaired to Madrid to solicit supplies; but so low was the credit of government, that the merchants refused to advance the money required until the Marquis gave his personal security for the loan by mortgaging his estates in Italy. The love of military glory was the ruling passion of Spinola: to this every other consideration gave way; and he readily entered into the engagement.

A. D. 1606. On his return to the Netherlands he astonished his enemies by the boldness of his plans and the rapidity of his motions. In a short time he reduced Lochan and Groll, two strong towns of Guelderland, took Rhimberg in the sight of Prince Maurice, and was prevented only by the heavy rains from penetrating into the heart of Holland. But this splendid career of victory was interrupted by a mutiny of his troops. His remittances from Spain had been intercepted; and he was unable to continue the regular payment of his army. The soldiers broke out into open sedition, and numbers of them, forsaking their standards, went over to Prince Maurice, who, finding himself thus unexpectedly strengthened, abandoned the defensive system to which he had been, for some time, confined, and having recovered Lochan, laid siege to Groll.

Resolving to attempt the relief of a place of which he knew the importance, Spinola, whose daring spirit rejected the cautious remonstrances of his officers, selected from his army eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, for the arduous enterprise. Conscious that his success must depend on preventing the enemy from completing his intrenchments, he advanced with the greatest rapidity, and no sooner arrived within sight of Groll than he drew up his army

In order of battle, rode through the ranks, and exhorted his troops, declaring his own resolution to conquer or die. The army of Prince Maurice was, in number, greatly superior to that of Spinola; but his troops were sickly and worn out with fatigue. Under these circumstances he resolved to decline the action. On the first appearance of Spinola he began to withdraw his troops to an advantageous situation, from whence he effected a masterly retreat.

While Spain was impoverished by the war, the revolted provinces were enriched by their commerce, which opened to them inexhaustible resources, and enabled them to resist their powerful enemies. The Portuguese colonies had rapidly declined under the oppressive government of Spain; and some time before the death of Philip II. the Dutch had begun to extend their trade to the Oriental Islands as well as to the coasts of Africa and Brazil. The plan originated with Cornelius Houtman, a native of Flanders, who had made several voyages with the Portuguese from Lisbon to India, and was perfectly acquainted with the course of their navigation, and the nature of their trade. He undertook the conduct of a small squadron from Holland, with which he visited many parts of the East; and although he carefully avoided hostilities, he returned, after a voyage of two years and a half, to the Texel,

with a cargo of valuable merchandise, and a fund of important intelligence respecting the defenceless state of the Portuguese colonies.

The accounts brought by this adventurer so greatly excited the spirit of enterprise, that in the ensuing year above eighty vessels sailed from the Texel, freighted with articles of trade for the coasts of Africa and Brazil, and for the East and West Indies. These were divided into small squadrons, and had some regular troops on board; they alternately traded, fought, and negotiated: they established factories in the Oriental Islands, concluded treaties with the native Princes, and returned to Holland laden with wealth. The various associations of adventurers were, in the year 1602, united by an ordinance of the States in one body, under the name of the East India Company, with a naval and military establishment of forty-five vessels and ten thousand troops.* From this time their enterprises were marked with a spirit of consistency and unremitted perseverance, and formed a singular mixture of mercantile and warlike adventure.

By this system of conquest and commerce, wealth was poured into Amsterdam and the other large cities of Holland; but the inhabi-

* Encyc. Method. Econ. pol. and diplom. 3d. 769. This establishment, however, does not appear to have been completed till some years afterwards. *Richesse de la Hol.* tom. 1. p. 155. and 175.

tants of the inland provinces, scarcely participating in the benefits of eastern trade, and oppressed with a load of taxes, sighed for peace, which was still more necessary to Spain, as the shattered finances of that kingdom were totally unable to support any longer the expenses of the war. After so long and so fruitless a continuation of hostilities it was time that the rulers of Spain should at length learn wisdom by experience. The Duke of Lerma could no longer shut his eyes to the necessity of peace. Albert, from the commencement of his sovereignty, had lived in a state of perpetual disquietude, and having no issue for whom he should labour, both he and his consort were desirous of passing the remainder of their days in tranquillity. The Marquis of Spinola himself was among the most strenuous advocates for peace. His dauntless courage and consummate skill had enabled him to surmount the difficulties of his situation : but considerable arrears were due to his troops, and a great part of them had again broke out into open mutiny. All the money that could be raised in the Netherlands, or procured from the court of Madrid, would be scarcely sufficient to defray the expense of the new levies which were to be made for the next campaign. In these circumstances he clearly saw that the object of the war was unattainable, and its further

prosecution, with honour and advantage, wholly impossible.

The Archduke Albert, whose wishes corresponded with the counsels of Spinola, and who entertained the most profound respect for his judgment, having fully experienced the fallacy of his hopes of effectual support from Spain, made an overture of peace to the States. The court of Madrid hesitated to grant the conditions which they demanded; but a new and unexpected event hastened its deliberations.

Heemskirk, one of the bravest and most experienced officers in the naval service of the States, had been dispatched to cruise off the coasts of Spain and Portugal for the protection of the homeward bound East India fleet. He had also received instructions to give all possible annoyance to the enemy; and in conformity to these orders he attacked the Spanish and Portuguese fleet in the bay of Gibraltar. The Spaniards, apprized of his intention, and confiding in the superior size of their vessels, were prepared to receive him; and the conflict was supported with the greatest valour and obstinacy. Heemskirk fell by a cannon ball; but the Dutch, not dismayed by the loss of their commander, continued the engagement with dauntless intrepidity; and, after a long and sanguinary struggle, victory declared in their favour. The Spanish

admiral was killed : his ship was taken : three others were burned ; and all the rest were driven on shore.

This signal defeat rendered the court of Madrid more compliant ; and Philip consented to sign a truce, leaving both parties in possession of their pretensions. This expedient was strongly opposed by Prince Maurice, who, confiding in arms, and unwilling, perhaps, to resign the high military command with which he was invested, strenuously urged the continuance of the war till the independence of the United States should be definitively acknowledged. But his ardour was resisted by the temperate counsels of John Barneveldt, Pensioner of Holland, one of the greatest statesmen of the age, and not less eminent for his public spirit than for his political abilities. The eloquence of that patriot recalled the minds of his countrymen from the splendid views of Maurice to the contemplation of the solid advantages of peace : the partizans of the House of Orange were overborne by his influence, and a truce for twelve years was concluded between Spain, the Archduke, and the United States, which imparted to the latter freedom of commerce with the dominions of Philip and Albert ; and without deciding any claims produced a considerable interval of tranquillity.

A. D. 1609.

Thus was terminated, or at least suspended, a war of forty years duration, a war pre-eminently fatal to the power and prosperity of Spain. This long and obstinate contest had brought on the stage several illustrious characters; the names of William and Maurice, Princes of Orange, and those of Don John of Austria, Alexander Farnese Duke of Parma, and the Marquis Spinola, make a conspicuous figure in the pages of history: in that age they were esteemed the great masters of the art of war; and the Netherlands were considered as the military school of Europe. But it may be observed that this remarkable war was distinguished by a peculiar character. Never perhaps was such a succession of campaigns marked by so few important actions in the field. It was almost wholly a war of marches, countermarches and sieges, in which army after army was consumed by hardships in an unfavourable climate, and mouldered away in long and unwholesome encampments. To the prodigious waste of life through these causes the numbers consumed by the sword bear only a very small proportion; and humanity will reflect with horror, that of sixty thousand brave soldiers who, according to the most moderate calculation, perished before the walls of Ostend, it is scarcely probable that one-fourth part fell by the arms of

the enemy. But it was the long continuance of the war that rendered it so highly prejudicial to Spain. Had the efforts of the Netherlanders been attended with a rapid success, and the contest been decided in a few bloody campaigns, the Spanish monarchy might soon have recovered from the blow; but forty years of continual hostilities exhausted its resources, and proved fatal to its commerce and naval power.

The kingdom was no sooner relieved from the war in the Netherlands, than its infatuated rulers inflicted another mortal wound on its prosperity. If Philip III. had not inherited the ambition of his Father, he was not less the slave of superstition and bigotry. In his zeal for the christian religion he had imbibed a prejudice against the Morescoes, which being heightened by the representations of the clergy and of the Duke of Lerma, the expulsion of that industrious race was determined by the narrow policy of a court, that was ignorant of the national interests.

But as the Morescoes were formidable from their numbers, and if supplied with arms, were capable of a vigorous resistance, their fate was concealed in secrecy. Orders were privately given to the naval commanders to rendezvous on the coast of Valentia, and large bodies of troops were stationed in the provinces. At

length, when the force assembled was such as might defy all opposition, a royal edict was published, commanding, under penalty of death, all the Moorish inhabitants to repair to the coast and embark on board the vessels provided to carry them to Africa. The distress and confusion that such an order produced may be more easily conceived than described. The nobles of Valentia remonstrated against the measure : they represented that the execution of the edict would ruin their estates, and convert a fertile province into a desert ; but the only mitigation that they could obtain was a permission for six families out of every hundred, with all the infants under four years of age, to be excepted from the general sentence.

Under the first impulse of despair the Morescoes had conceived some thoughts of opposing, by force, the injustice and cruelty of their oppressors ; but they had neither arms nor military stores, and the Spanish troops distributed throughout the country, were ready to attack them on the first appearance of resistance. Obedience, therefore, was all that remained : they crowded to the coasts, and, bidding an eternal farewell to the land of their nativity, were successively conveyed to the shores of Africa. A few of the most daring made a fruitless attempt to defend themselves in the mountains ; but the passes were

explored : they were hunted like wild beasts ; some perished by the sword, others by hunger, and their chief, being made prisoner, was publicly executed. Grenada, Castile, and Arragon, and every part of Spain where the Morescoes resided, presented the same scene of tyrannical oppression, and according to the lowest computation, the injudicious policy of Philip III. and his ministers, banished from his dominions above half a million of the most industrious of his subjects, and rendered incurable the wounds which the bigotry and ambition of Philip II. had inflicted on the prosperity of Spain. A modern writer, in speaking of the expulsion of the Jews, by Ferdinand, in 1492, and of the Morescoes, by Philip III. in 1609, together with the intermediate persecution of the latter, by Philip II. observes that it is not so much the number as the qualifications of the exiles that ought to be considered, as Spain lost on these occasions, the most valuable part of her population, “her artizans, manufacturers, and husbandmen, the most laborious and most ingenious part of the community.”*

While the court of Madrid thus abused the blessings of peace, Spain was in danger of being again involved in war. Henry IV. of France, had, for some time, meditated a decisive blow

* Brougham Col. Pol. 1st. p. 395, and 396.

against the House of Austria. In this view he had long been occupied in replenishing his coffers, in establishing magazines, and in organizing a numerous and well disciplined army. He had also formed alliances with England and the Duke of Savoy. The death of the Duke of Cleves, and the disputed succession to his dominions, gave the signal for action: Henry engaged to support the pretensions of the sisters of that Prince against the Emperor, and it is supposed that a French army of eighty thousand men was destined to act on the side of the Pyrenees against Spain.*

A. D. 1610. But while Henry was revolving vast designs, his death was planned and executed by Francis Ravallac, an attorney, of Angouleme. The reins of government were seized by his widow, Mary de Medicis, who courted the alliance instead of arming against the power of Philip, and thus, by an unexpected change at Paris, Spain escaped a dangerous war against an enemy whose abilities and resources concurred to render him formidable. The Queen, in order to connect herself more closely with Spain, projected a double marriage: the young King of France, Louis XIII. was con-

* Hen. Ab. Chron. 2nd. An. 1610.

tracted to the Infanta, and the Princess Elizabeth, his sister, was engaged to the Prince of Asturias.

A. D. 1614. During the space of three years Spain enjoyed an interval of tranquillity : but it was threatened with an interruption in consequence of a quarrel between the Marquis of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine of Newburg, who governed the Duchies of Cleves and Juliers ; the former implored the assistance of the States, and the latter sought the protection of the Emperor. Prince Maurice prevailed on his countrymen to levy a numerous army ; and while he acted as the ally of the Marquis, he seized on several fortresses in the name of the States, and seemed to aim at the conquest of Cleves and Juliers. The Marquis of Spinola, who had been so lately the strenuous promoter of peace, now represented to Albert the necessity of war in order to prevent the aggrandizement of States by such an important acquisition. The Archduke was sensible of the force of his arguments ; and Spinola, at the head of thirty thousand men, having crossed the Rhine, reduced Orsoy and Cleves before the Marquis of Brandenburg and Prince Maurice could arrive to check his career. After this success Spinola again faced his illustrious rival ; but while the hostile camps were opposite to each other, the courts of Paris and London were

labouring to reconcile the two contending claimants. Their mediation, however, was useless: Spinola and Maurice, by a tacit convention, determined to keep possession of their respective acquisitions, and to aggrandize the House of Austria and the United States at the expense of those who had implored their protection.

A. D. 1615. This transient tempest had no sooner subsided than the restless court of Madrid attempted to seize the dominions of the Duke of Savoy; and Iniosa, governor of Milan, was ordered to make an irruption into Piedmont. The forces of the Duke were unable to withstand the veterans of Spain, and that Prince was on the brink of destruction when the mediation of the French ambassador procured him the means of concluding a peace with the governor of Milan, under the guarantee of France and the republic of Venice. But the court of Madrid refused to ratify the treaty: the ministers accused Iniosa of exceeding his powers, and the Marquis of Villa Franca was sent to supercede him in the government of Milan, with orders to renew the war. At this critical juncture the Marechal de Lesdiguières, who, being originally a private gentleman, of a small fortune, and an obscure family, had, amidst the tumult of civil wars, raised himself to the first

dignities of the state, declared himself the protector of the Duke of Savoy ; and in contempt of the orders of Mary de Medicis, who would gladly have restrained his ardour, he crossed the Alps at the head of eight thousand men, levied by his influence and exertions, and paid by the republic of Venice. With these he joined the Duke of Savoy ; and their arms made a rapid progress till Lesdiguières was recalled by the internal commotions of France. His retreat turned the scale of success in favour of Spain. The Marquis of Villa Franca captured Vercelli, Solari, and Felician, and menaced the important city of Asti. But the hopes of the court of Madrid were suddenly blasted by a new revolution in France. Mary of Medicis was stripped of her power : her favourites, the partisans of the House of Austria, fell victims to the resentment of the people : the young King assumed the reins of government, and Lesdiguières was ordered to march to the support of the Duke of Savoy. The Marechal, who united the ardour of youth to the prudence and experience of age, commenced a vigorous train of operations : a bloody conflict was maintained throughout Piedmont : the Spanish troops were defeated in successive engagements ; and the court of Madrid, baffled and humbled, was obliged to agree to a peace.

The Marquis of Villa Franca, governor of Milan, had employed every intrigue that his fertile genius could suggest, in order to prolong the term of hostility ; but the exhausted finances of the court of Madrid had imposed the necessity of peace. The restless ambition, and the turbulent policy of the Duke of Ossuna, Viceroy of Naples, and the Marquis of Bedmar, a Spanish ambassador at Venice, still continued to alarm the States of Italy. Their minds were constantly occupied with vast and mischievous projects : they formed a plan to surprise the city of Venice, and to subject the republic to the authority of Spain. For this purpose the Marquis of Bedmar had associated himself with a number of needy malecontents, and had secretly introduced a band of ruffians, who were to set fire to the city, while on one side an attack was to be made by an army sent from Milan, and on the other by a squadron of ships of war from Naples. But at the moment when this atrocious design was ripe for execution, it was happily detected by the vigilance of the senate : most of the conspirators were seized, and suffered the punishment which they had merited : the life of the Marquis of Bedmar was respected in consideration of his public character ; but he was ordered instantly to quit the territories of the republic.

This horrid and treacherous scheme appears to have been entirely a machination of the Governor of Milan, the Viceroy of Naples, and the Marquis of Bedmar : at least the court of Madrid disavowed all knowledge of the affair. The intrigues of the Duke of Lerma had been chiefly confined within the circles of his own court and of that of Rome. From the latter he had obtained the dignity of Cardinal, and invested with the sacred purple, he considered his prosperity as established on a basis that could not be shaken.

But, contrary to his expectation, the acquisition of his Roman honours was soon followed by the decline of his power in Spain. His anxiety to perpetuate his grandeur in his family, prompted him to introduce and place near the sovereign his son, the Duke of Uzeda, whose conduct shewed him equally ambitious and ungrateful. But it requires no extensive acquaintance with history to discover that the lust of power is seldom restrained by the ties of nature or duty. The Duke of Uzeda supplanted his father in the favour of Philip ; and as soon as the influence of the minister was perceived to decline, the crowd of Parasites, who had been enriched by his profusion, abandoned his interests. The murmurs of the nation afforded a plausible pretext to his enemies : they

employed all their arts and intrigues to press his fall, and they easily succeeded. The Duke received an order from the King to withdraw from Madrid and retire to his paternal estate. His son, the Duke of Uzeda, succeeded to his office and authority ; but Spain received no material benefit from the change. The means by which the new minister had risen to power, impeached his integrity, and the manner in which he exercised it, did no great honour to his abilities. Like his predecessor he laboured chiefly for his own aggrandizement, and regarded the interests of the nation as an object of inferior consideration.

If the Duke of Lerma had lost the favour, he had not incurred the hatred of his sovereign ; and if happiness were compatible with disappointed ambition, he might have been contented to enjoy his immense property in tranquil retirement. His principal favourite and partisan, Roderic de Calderona, met with much harsher treatment. This man was the son of a common foldier of Valladolid, and of Mary Sandalen, an obscure girl, of Flanders. He began his career of ambition in the character of a menial servant to the Duke of Lerma, and soon gained over the mind of his master, the same ascendancy as the latter possessed over that of the King. Having risen to the principal offices in the household of

the Duke, he was, by the favour of his master, advanced to places of trust and influence in the State : he was first created Count of Oliva, and then Marquis of Iglésias : he acquired an estate of a hundred thousand crowns per annum ; and not satisfied with his good fortune, he openly aspired to the rank of a Grandee of Spain. In the midst of prosperity, however, he was not quite destitute of virtues : in the height of his elevation he was sensible to filial duty : he sent for his aged and necessitous father, conferred on him offices of honour and emolument, and treated him with the most affectionate tendernefs. But if he was studious to pay respect to a parent, he rigorously exacted it from the rest of mankind : his antichamber was crowded with Spanish nobles, who found the greatest difficulty in obtaining an audience, and repaid his arrogance with wishes for his downfall. To the grandees of Spain his low extraction gave a disgusting umbrage ; and his immoderate aggrandizement appeared like a studied insult to nobility of blood. But his sufferings amply atoned for his haughtiness ; and as his rise had been rapid his fall was severe. On the disgrace of his patron he was arrested, stripped of his wealth, and thrown into prison. Many of the crimes of which he was accused were evidently forged, and others improbable. During the space of

two years he languished in confinement ; but in solitude and under torture he displayed a mind firm, patient, and perfectly resigned to the dispensations of heaven. On the death of Philip III. and the accession of his successor, he was dragged from his dungeon to perish on the scaffold, the victim of private malevolence rather than of public justice. In the last awful moments of his life he appeared truly great ; and those who rejoiced at his destruction could not refuse their admiration to the fortitude with which he met his fate.

These revolutions were confined within the circle of the court of Madrid ; but greater convulsions were beginning to agitate Europe.

A. D. 1619. The death of the Emperor Matthias, without issue, devolved on Ferdinand the second the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria.* Matthias had previously caused Ferdinand to be crowned King of Bohemia and Hungary ; but the Bohemians rejected his authority, and made choice of Frederick, the Elector Palatine, for their sovereign. This Prince, who was son in law of James I. King of England, and nephew of Prince Maurice, accepted the crown of Bohemia. But a treaty, offen-

* Philip III. laid claim to the Kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary ; and his pretensions were plausible ; but the dispute was compromised, Henault 2d. An. 1617.

five and defensive, had closely combined the two branches of the House of Austria ; and the King of England, influenced by the artful intrigues of the Marquis of Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador, and fearful of incurring the resentment of the court of Madrid, abandoned the Elector Palatine to his fate.*

A. D. 1620. The address of Gondemar having

secured the neutrality of England, Spinola led an army of thirty thousand men to the support of Ferdinand. Having entered the Palatinate, he eluded the forces that were stationed to oppose him : without hazarding a battle he made himself master of upwards of thirty towns and castles, and in a single campaign reduced the dominions of the Elector under the imperial authority.

In Bohemia also the fortune of the House of Austria prevailed : the Duke of Bavaria totally defeated the army of the Elector near Prague. Frederick and his family gained the frontiers of Holland ; and his dominions were, by the authority of Ferdinand, assigned to the Duke of Bavaria, as a recompense for his services.

While the Elector Palatine and the Bohemians were overwhelmed by Ferdinand, the tranquillity

* King James I. considered the affair as a violation of the divine right of Kings. Burnet. Hist. p. 13.

of the Grisons was invaded by the ambition of Spain. The country of the Valteline had long acknowledged their authority ; but it was sufficient to the Duke of Feria, who had succeeded the Marquis of Villa Franca, that it had once been an appendage to the Duchy of Milan. The claim was obsolete ; but, in conjunction with religion, it served as a pretext ; and the Grisons were unable to support their pretensions against so powerful a competitor. Spain poured her veteran armies into the Valteline, and seized that district which, by its situation, facilitated the communication between the two branches of the House of Austria.

But while the fortune of Philip seemed to revive, the restless ambition of the Duke of Ossuna threatened the dissolution of the Spanish monarchy. In the station of Viceroy of Naples he aspired to the dignity of an independent sovereign. He rightly conjectured that the nobles, whose interest attached them to the crown, would be averse to innovation ; but on the affections of the populace he depended for support in the designs which he meditated. His agents fomented the discontents of the multitude, and instructed the people to look up to the Viceroy as their protector against the oppressions of the great, while he himself, by the most alluring measures, and the most insinuating

behaviour, endeavoured to secure their esteem and attachment.

The Viceroy, however, was aware that in the execution of his plans the favour of a giddy populace would be an uncertain support; and he took every measure to collect a chosen band of ruffians, who, by disposition or habit, were fit for every daring enterprize. In this view, whenever he discovered a man of courage and genius, whom guilt or distress had made desperate, he received him with affability, and by favours and promises attached him to his interests: he introduced a military force composed of foreigners: he fitted out galleys to cruise against the commerce of Venice; and the spoils which he acquired he employed in purchasing new partisans. His projects being matured, he resolved on decisive measures for carrying them into execution; and solicited the courts of Savoy and France to unite with him in dis severing Naples from the monarchy of Spain, and expelling the Spaniards from Italy.

But amidst his vast and ambitious designs, the Duke of Ossuna appears to have been deficient either in caution or energy. His schemes had been unfolded to the court of Madrid; and the danger had roused the ministers from their lethargy. The Cardinal Gasper de Borgia was suddenly dispatched to supercede him, and so

secretly had the business been conducted, that the cannon which saluted the new Viceroy on his arrival, first announced to Ossuna the appointment of a successor. The Duke tried in vain to excite his adherents to arms; and deserted by all, he had no other alternative left than submission. He was hurried on board a vessel, and conveyed to Spain; the lenity of his sovereign saved him from immediate punishment; but the succeeding reign was not equally indulgent: soon after the accession of Philip the fourth, the Duke of Ossuna was arrested, and after a tedious confinement expired in prison.

A. D. 1621. Philip had the good fortune to behold the humiliation of his foreign and domestic enemies. But his reign was drawing to its close. For some time he had been afflicted with a slow fever, which baffled the skill of the physicians: he perceived the symptoms of his approaching dissolution, and expired with sentiments of piety and resignation, in the forty-third year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign. His character was a contrast to that of his predecessor Philip II. He inherited nothing of his disposition except his bigotry, which in Philip III. may be ascribed to his weakness and deference to the clergy: to their representations, and the counsels of his ministers, rather than to his own disposition, may be attributed

his tyrannical and impolitic conduct towards the Morefcoes, and the sufferings of Roderigo de Calderona; the only acts of his reign that were tarnished with cruelty. Mild, indolent, and devoid of ambition, Philip III. might, with good ministers, have been a good King. But it must be confessed that the facility of his disposition was not much less fatal to the greatness of Spain, than the obstinacy of Philip II.

CHAP. VIII.

Accession of Philip IV.—Great designs of his minister the Count Duke de Olivarez.—Expiration of the truce between Spain and the United Provinces.—Spinola loses ten thousand men before Bergen-op-Zoom.—Spain enters into a war against France, England, Savoy, and Venice.—The Dutch seize the greatest part of Brazil, found the city of Batavia, and every where harasses the commerce and colonies of Spain.—League between the two branches of the House of Austria.—Naval successes of the Dutch.—The Spanish army from Flanders invades France.—Vigorous measures of Cardinal Richelieu.—Summary view of the war.—Discontents in Spain.—Revolt of Catalonia.—Revolt of Portugal.—Political conduct of Pinto de Ribeiro.—Elevation of the Duke of Braganza to the throne of Portugal.

PHILIP IV. was only in his sixteenth year when the death of his father devolved into his hands the sceptre of Spain; and his inexperienced youth was directed by the commanding and romantic genius of a minister, whose plans, more bold than judicious, contributed to agitate Europe with extensive scenes of commotion and carnage.

The contemporary reigns of Philip IV. and Louis XIII. brought upon the political theatre

two statesmen, whose names stand conspicuous in history, and whose rival efforts swayed the destinies of that age. The Count Duke of Olivarez, the new minister of Spain, had conceived vast designs without duly considering the means of carrying them into execution : he instructed his royal pupil to assume the designation of Great, and to justify that title he meditated the subjugation of the United Provinces to Spain, and openly aspired to establish the dominion of the House of Austria over Europe. But all his views were counteracted by the vigorous measures of Cardinal Richelieu : that celebrated minister of Louis XIII. not inferior to Olivarez in the boldness of his projects, and more able in their execution, had meditated the reduction of the Protestants of France and the humiliation of the House of Austria : these were his favourite objects, and in both he proved successful. The decisive administration of Richelieu established the greatness of France under one of the weakest of her monarchs : the injudicious ambition of Olivarez contributed to precipitate the decline of Spain.

The commencement of his political career was clouded by disappointment. In the preceding reign, the governor of Milan, and the ministers of the court of Madrid, making use of religion as a veil for ambition, had seized the Valteline

under the pretext of establishing the predominance of the Catholic Faith. But the Pope, apprehending less danger from the Protestant Grisons than the Catholic court of Madrid, united with Venice, Savoy, and France, for the purpose of wresting that important territory from Spain. Olivarez, startled at so formidable a confederacy, consented to wave his pretensions, and reluctantly agreed to withdraw the Spanish troops from the Valteline, which commanded the communication between Milan and Germany.

It would, indeed, have been imprudent to provoke a war in Italy at the moment when the court of Madrid had renewed the design of subjugating the Netherlands. The truce, concluded in 1609, was expired; and the Marquis of Spinola was ordered to lay siege to Bergen-op-Zoom. But the strength of the fortifications baffled his efforts, and, after losing upwards of ten thousand men, he was obliged to abandon the enterprize.

While the war was carried on, with various success, in the Netherlands, the friendly connexion between Spain and England was interrupted. An alliance between the two kingdoms had long been in contemplation, and the marriage of the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I. with the Infanta, sister of Philip, was to have been the bond of union. But this favourite project of

the English and Spanish monarchs was frustrated by the romantic journey of Charles to Madrid.*

The Prince of Wales having soon after espoused the Princess Henrietta of France, Cardinal Richelieu, whose vigorous counsels directed the measures of Louis, considered this alliance as admirably calculated to second his views. The Spaniards had not made good their engagements to evacuate the Valteline; and a league was formed between France, Savoy, and Venice, for the purpose of compelling them to fulfil the treaty. To this confederacy England acceded: the Duke of Buckingham prevailed on James I. to involve himself in a war with Spain; but that monarch

died before its commencement.
A. D. 1625.

James I. was one of the weakest Princes that had swayed the English sceptre; but his pacific reign had greatly increased the commerce and wealth of his subjects, and laid a more solid foundation for national greatness than could have been the result of the most successful hostilities.

After a fruitless attempt to keep possession of the Valteline, the court of Madrid was obliged to accede to a treaty which confirmed the sovereignty of that district to the Grisons. But this loss was balanced, and the reputation of

* Rapin's Hist. Eng. 2. book 18. p. 225, &c.

the Spanish arms maintained by the repulse of the English in an attack made on Cadiz. The war with England, however, was productive of few important events. But from the Dutch, Spain received the most fatal blows. In the preceding year they had sent expeditions against Brazil and Peru, and gained possession of a considerable part of the former country. In every quarter of the globe they harrassed the Spanish commerce. The city of Batavia, which they had founded on the swampy shores of Java, rapidly advanced in wealth and power, and obscured, by its grandeur, the ancient colonies of the Portuguese, whose hour of splendour was passed, and who, since their reduction under the dominion of Spain, had been daily sinking into obscurity, while the Dutch East India Company gave laws to the coasts of Asia.

The wounds inflicted on the commerce and naval power of Spain could not be cured by the successes, more splendid than useful, which attended her arms in Europe. A close connexion had taken place between the two branches of the House of Austria. Ferdinand had caused the Protestant Princes of Germany to tremble at his name: his sway was extended to Italy: Philip asserted the Emperor's claim of paramount sovereignty over the Duchy of Mantua, and effectually supported the Duke of Guastalla,

who had received the imperial investiture. The banners of Spain were displayed from the towers of Mantua: Spinola, after a siege of ten months, made himself master of Breda; and the chagrin, occasioned by that event is assigned, by historians, as the cause of the death of Prince Maurice.

A. D. 1628. But at the moment when Philip and Ferdinand considered their arms as irresistible, the scales were beginning to turn. The Dutch continued successful by sea: in the West Indies, their admiral, Peter Adrian, falling in with the Spanish galleons, seized the cargo and burned the vessels; and Peter Hein, another of their naval commanders, captured a fleet bound from Peru to Mexico, having on board above sixteen millions of livres in specie and merchandise, while other adventurers extended the commerce and power of the United States in the east. The Protestants of France had sunk under the commanding genius of Richelieu, and the Cardinal, being satisfied that their strength was for ever broken, directed his operations against the House of Austria.

This minister had the address to communicate a portion of his own ardent spirit to the monarch. Louis, being the ally and protector of the Duke of Nevers, who claimed the Duchy of Mantua, was prevailed on, by Richelieu, to march in

person to the relief of Casal, which was besieged by the Marquis of Spinola. The French monarch traversed the rugged passes of the Alps, and overran the greatest part of the Duchy of Savoy. Spinola, with an army exhausted by fatigue and famine, closely pressed the siege; but Louis, at the head of fresh and numerous forces, was rapidly advancing. The Spanish general was conscious of his inability to maintain so unequal a contest: yet the orders of his sovereign commanded him to persevere in the inauspicious enterprise. But, while he contemplated with grief and indignation the impending consequences, he was preserved from the mortification of a defeat by a treaty, concluded at Ratisbon, in which the

A. D. 1630. Emperor acknowledged the sovereignty of the Duke of Nevers over the Duchy of Mantua, and the Marquisate of Montferrat. From the hardships and disappointments which he experienced in this campaign, or from his chagrin at the conduct of the court of Madrid, whose ministers had rejected his counsels, and reproached the slowness of his operations, the Marquis of Spinola contracted a lingering disease; and his death, some time after, deprived Spain of the ablest of her military commanders.

A. D. 1631. Hitherto Ferdinand had trampled on the liberties of Germany; but a

treaty, concluded between Richelieu and the famous Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, checked his career, and rekindled the flames of war. France granted to the Swedish monarch a liberal subsidy,* and Gustavus, with an army of thirty thousand men, penetrated into the heart of the empire. This treaty, and its consequences, totally changed the face of affairs in Germany, and ultimately humbled both the branches of the House of Austria.

The war between the Imperialists and the Swedes was commenced with vigour; and the two campaigns of 1631 and 1632 were a splendid series of triumphs to Gustavus, till the battle of

Nov. 16. Lutzen proved fatal to the life of that
A. D. 1632. illustrious monarch. His death re-

vived the drooping spirits of the House of Austria. The court of Madrid began to make great exertions: twenty thousand Spanish and Italian veterans were sent to reinforce the armies of the empire; and their valour gave a decisive turn to affairs. During the year 1633 they stemmed the torrent of the Swedish conquests, and the war was carried on with various success. In the ensuing campaign the Swedes were totally

A. D. 1634. defeated at Nordlingen with the loss of eighteen thousand men. And Philip

* The subsidy was 50,000*l.* sterling per ann. a very considerable sum in that age and in that country.

began to hope that, when Ferdinand had trampled upon the Protestant Princes of Germany, his victorious armies, pouring into the Netherlands, would reduce the United Provinces under the yoke of Spain. It was this illusion that induced the court of Madrid to direct its chief attention to the subjugation of the empire, and prompted the aspiring genius of Olivarez to scatter the flames of war throughout Europe, and sacrifice the happiness of mankind to his own aggrandizement. Richelieu, not inferior in ambition, and superior in talents to Olivarez, had hitherto, through motives of policy, endeavoured to conceal his designs against the House of Austria, and contented himself with acting as the ally of Sweden and the Duke of Mantua. But the death of Gustavus, and the defeat of the Swedes at Nordlingen, called for more decisive measures. The Cardinal issued a formal declaration of war against Spain. A French army, commanded by the Marshals Chatillon and Brize, having defeated the Spaniards under Prince Thomas of Savoy, joined the Dutch near Mæstricht. The combined forces of France and the United States captured Tillemont, and invested Louvain; but the dissensions of the commanders obliged them to relinquish the siege, and their formidable army was consumed by fatigue and diseases. In Italy, and on the frontiers of Germany and

Switzerland, the events of the war were various ; but in general disadvantageous to the Spaniards and the Imperialists.

The court of Madrid resolving to try the effect of naval as well as military operations, had, at a vast expence, equipped a fleet for the purpose of ravaging the coast of France. But it had scarcely left the Spanish ports before it was dispersed by a violent tempest. The damages which it had sustained, however, were quickly repaired, and it reduced the islands of Hieres, near the harbour of Toulon. In Flanders, and on the frontiers of France, the brilliant campaign of 1636 gilded the declining glory of Spain. Prince Thomas of Savoy, at the head of a powerful army, burst into Picardy, passed the Somme, took the strong city of Corbie, and diffused consternation throughout Paris. Amidst the public dismay, Richelieu displayed a mind worthy of his station, and ever fertile in expedients, called forth the latent energies of the state. An arret of council decreed the immediate enrolment of a certain proportion of the servants and apprentices ; and a numerous army was suddenly raised to encounter the impending danger. The Spanish general, astonished and alarmed at the approach of fifty thousand French, conducted by the Duke of Orleans and the Count of Soissons,

hastily crossed the Somme, and saw his conquests lost as rapidly as they had been acquired.

A. D. 1636. The death of the Emperor Ferdinand neither suspended the projects nor chilled the hopes of the House of Austria. He was succeeded in the imperial throne by his son of the same name, and who seemed to be animated by the same spirit.* The Spaniards recovered the Valteline: but in an invasion of Languedoc they were obliged to retire with the loss of their cannon and baggage. In the Netherlands the Dutch reduced the strong and important town of Breda; but the loss was counterbalanced by other events. The Spaniards defeated the Prince of Orange near Gueldres, and their fleet intercepted and almost wholly destroyed a Dutch squadron commanded by Count William of Nassau. The operations of war were actively carried on in different quarters: a considerable naval and military armament, conducted by the Prince de Conde, laid siege to Fontarabia; but the Spaniards attacked the intrenchments of the French with an impetuosity that proved irresistible. The greatest part of the besiegers fell by the sword; and the Prince of Conde, with only a small remnant of his troops,

* Crowned Feb. 8. 1637. Henault Ab. Chron. ad An.

gained, with difficulty, the shelter of his fleet. It would be of little utility to enumerate all the particular events of this bloody and wide spreading war, in which, through five active campaigns, from 1635 to 1640, the successes of the House of Austria and those of its enemies were so nearly balanced, that neither side could claim any decided preponderance.

But events of greater importance, and more disastrous to Spain, were approaching. During the long and fruitless contest, the hopes which the gigantic projects of the minister at first inspired, had gradually subsided: the dream of conquest had vanished; and Spain was awakened to the regret of her blood and her treasures lavished in useless enterprises and endless wars. The nobles repined at beholding every office of honour and emolument engrossed by the ambition and avarice of the family of Olivarez; the merchants complained of the extinction of trade; and the people in general were impoverished by taxes, and groaned under oppression. The murmurs of the court and the capital were uttered in secret whispers; but in the distant provinces the public voice assumed a bolder tone. Of all the inhabitants of Spain, the Catalonians retained the greatest share of the freedom and firmness of their ancestors; and to a statesman, whose principal object is arbitrary

power, the greatest lovers of liberty are always the most odious. The Catalonians were the loudest in their complaints, and were honoured with the hatred of Olivarez. But his aversion was mingled with dread. He knew them to be daring, obstinate, and vindictive, indefatigable in toil and indifferent to danger. Their province contained above a million of inhabitants; conscious of their numbers and resources, a brave and frugal people might, if driven to rebellion, prove a dangerous enemy; and their vicinity to France was an object of serious consideration. These reflections had probably influenced Olivarez to suspend, though not to relinquish, his resentment. Insults were accumulated; and Philip, instructed by his minister, rejected the remonstrances of the States of Catalonia. An army which had been employed in recovering Salces from the French, was ordered to establish its winter quarters in the province. The licentiousness of the officers and soldiers, encouraged by the hope, perhaps by the promise of countenance from the minister, exceeded all bounds: the people appealed for redress from the throne; but their remonstrances were rejected with contempt, reproaches, and menaces.

A. D. 1640.

The tyrannical conduct of the
Count of St. Colonna, Viceroy of the

province, brought matters to a crisis. He had seized a sum of money belonging to the city of Barcelona, and imprisoned one of the magistrates who had remonstrated against his injustice. This public insult was the signal for revolt: the people flew to arms: the prison was forced, and the magistrate liberated. The insurgents pressed forward to the palace; from the rage of an insulted and oppressed people the Viceroy at first sought shelter in the arsenal. He then attempted to make his escape by sea, but before he could reach the galley prepared for his reception, he was seized, his head was struck off, and his mangled limbs were carried in triumph through the city of Barcelona.

The insurgents had advanced too far to retreat: the sword was the only resource on which they could place their dependence; the whole province followed the example of the capital: the troops, dispersed in different quarters, were surprised, overwhelmed, and driven beyond the frontiers; and the general cry throughout Catalonia was freedom or death. It is seldom, however, that the multitude is capable of adhering to such vigorous resolutions: the first fever of enthusiasm gradually subsided; and when the Catalonians coolly compared their resources with those of the whole Spanish monarchy, they could not but tremble at the view of the approaching

contest. Olivarez contemplated the revolt without any serious apprehensions, and rejoiced in the opportunity of vengeance. An army of thirty thousand men, commanded by the Marquis de los Velos, entered Catalonia: the greatest part of the towns endeavoured to atone for their rashness by a speedy submission: those which made any resistance were rased to the ground; and the Spanish general soon arrived before the walls of Barcelona.

When the inhabitants of that city erected the standard of revolt, they had relied on the assistance of France; but her armies were occupied on the frontiers of Italy, Germany, and Flanders: and a few experienced officers were the only succours that Richelieu was immediately able to afford them. Disappointed from that quarter on which their principal hopes had been founded, the citizens sunk into despondency; and if any offer of mercy had been made, they would instantly have returned to their allegiance. But the implacable spirit of Olivarez knew not how to pardon. The inhabitants of Barcelona heard nothing from their ramparts but menaces of vengeance: despair inspired them with courage; and they resolved to hold out to the last extremity. Their constancy was soon put to a severe trial. The royal army made three successive and impetuous attacks, in

which they were repulsed with a terrible slaughter. The Marquis de los Velos, seeing no prospect of success, retired from the inauspicious walls, and reluctantly pointed his march towards the Ebro. His retreat revived the hopes of the Catalans : his forces were harassed on every side : the cities which had submitted threw off the yoke ; and the whole province again espoused the cause of the capital.

The revolt of Catalonia now began to assume a formidable appearance ; but the preparations of the court of Madrid were proportioned to the magnitude of the object. A numerous army was rapidly assembled : the cities of Portugal were drained of their garrisons, and the Portuguese nobility were summoned to take the field with their vassals. The Catalonians might tremble at the approach of such a host of enemies ; but an event as important as it was unexpected suddenly dispelled their apprehensions.

The Portuguese had long beheld with indignation their once flourishing kingdom sunk into an obscure province of Spain ; and the painful sense of their disgrace and dependence was kept alive by a continued system of oppression. The nominal administration of Portugal, with the title of Vice Queen was bestowed on Margaret of Savoy, Duchess of Mantua : the actual power was lodged in the hands of Miguel Vasconcellos, a Portu-

guese by birth, but by interest attached to Spain. His rapacity in multiplying taxes, while it procured him the favour and confidence of Olivarez, rendered him odious to the commons of Portugal, and his arrogance was not less offensive to the nobles : all ranks impatiently waited the period when they might give a loose to their vengeance, and assert their freedom from foreign domination.

The long desired moment at length arrived : the revolt of Catalonia afforded a favourable opportunity for asserting the independence of Portugal : the greatest part of the Spanish troops had been withdrawn from that country ; and the remainder could make only a feeble resistance to a whole nation in arms. At that critical juncture appeared a person whose fertile and enterprising genius was equal to the most difficult and complicated projects ; and never did the prudence and activity of one man produce a more extraordinary revolution.

Pinto de Ribeiro was comptroller of the household of the Duke of Braganza. That family, although thrust aside from the throne by the powerful arm of a rival, still retained its ancient titles and extensive estates. At Villa Viciosa, the chief of that illustrious house lived in a stile of rural hospitality, amusing himself in the toils of the chase or the pleasures of the table ; and, in

this sequestered retreat, the unambitious tenor of his conduct had eluded suspicion. But Pinto Ribeiro exerted his influence to rouse him to lofty designs, and incessantly prompted him to aspire to the crown. The efforts of the controller were zealously seconded by those of the consort of the Duke. She was of the illustrious family of Gusman, and sister to the Duke of Medina Sidonia; but although, by birth a Castilian, she considered herself from the moment of her marriage as intimately associated to the interests of her husband, and the fortunes of Portugal. Her ambition was boundless, and as she neither wanted courage to undertake, nor sagacity to prosecute the most difficult enterprises, she entered with ardour into the schemes of Ribeiro. The Duke of Braganza himself was neither averse nor indifferent to the cares and the advantages of royalty; but naturally easy and indolent, he was unwilling to hazard the happiness of his private condition in the pursuit of a more splendid station.

Such being the temper of the Duke, Ribeiro offered to take upon himself the whole management of the affair, to which he devoted himself with the most prudent caution and the most indefatigable activity, being sensible that his own aggrandizement would be the fruit of his success. Without appearing to act with the consent or

even with the knowledge of the Duke, he carefully examined the state of the public mind : he found that the nobles still remembered the honourable stations which they had filled under their native Kings : that the clergy beheld, with regret, many of the dignities and emoluments of the church transferred to foreigners : that the merchants execrated the invidious system which neglected their colonies, ruined their commerce, and made Cadiz the seat of that wealth which had once flowed into Lisbon, and that the people in general were inflamed with hatred to Spain.

At first he observed great caution in disclosing his sentiments ; but he soon perceived that reserve was unnecessary. In a meeting, which was sanctioned by the presence of the Archbishop of Lisbon, and the chief of the Portuguese nobles, he made a full discovery of his design : he urged the claims of the Duke of Braganza to the throne : he artfully lamented the indifference of that Prince to his own interests, and exhorted the assembly to merit the glorious title of the Deliverers of their Country. The arguments of Ribeiro accorded with the passions, and made a deep impression on the minds of the audience. They were seconded by the eloquence of the Archbishop of Lisbon ; and the holy example of the Metropolitan removed every scruple which

might have assailed weak minds. The assembly unanimously resolved to reject the authority of the King of Spain; but some difference of opinion arose concerning the form of their future government. A party was desirous of establishing a republic; but the Archbishop overruled the proposal. He represented the fatal consequences that were to be expected from the jarring factions and rival interests which would distract their infant republic, and render them an easy prey to their enemies, and urging the hereditary rights of the Duke of Braganza, he declared his decided opinion that the only alternative was either to proclaim him King, or submit to the tyranny of Spain.

The republican party being overruled, a deputation was appointed to wait on the Duke and acquaint him with their resolutions. His answer was cautious and indecisive: he wished for a crown but dreaded the consequences of an unsuccessful rebellion, and expressed his apprehensions that matters were not ripe for so dangerous an enterprise, the failure of which would involve them all in destruction. From this state of inglorious suspense, he was roused by his consort, whose bold and ambitious spirit confirmed his wavering resolution. She told him that his children might justly upbraid his pusillanimity if he neglected so favourable an

opportunity of asserting their rights, and that if he failed in attempting to recover the throne, his fate would be glorious, and rather to be envied than pitied. The reproaches and exhortations of the Dukes of Braganza awakened the energies of her consort ; and from that moment he began to act with decision.

The revolt of the Catalans had quickened the jealousy of Olivarez ; and while he summoned the nobles of Portugal to march with their vassals against the rebels, he urged the Duke of Braganza to repair to Madrid, under pretence that his sovereign required the aid of his counsels, but probably with the design of securing the fidelity of the Portuguese by so illustrious a hostage. But his precautions only served to precipitate the revolution, which he intended to prevent. Portugal was about to be drained of her nobility and her warlike youth ; and the multitude execrated the malicious cruelty of their tyrants, whose design was to drag them into the field, and force them to cement, with their blood, the despotism of Spain. The conspirators began to apprehend that their designs were betrayed, and that when once entangled in the snares of Olivarez, their destruction would be inevitable. Above all the Duke of Braganza had reason to distrust the insidious invitation to Madrid. His birth alone was sufficient to render him ob-

noxious ; and he knew that the suspicions of Olivarez were deadly. His letters, however, to that minister were couched in terms the most loyal, respectful, and submissive. Under pretence of preparations for travelling, and the necessity of providing the proper funds for appearing at court with a splendour suitable to his rank, he endeavoured to gain time ; but so eager was the minister to have him within his grasp, that he remitted him ten thousand ducats to defray the expenses of his journey. The Duke, by a feigned indisposition, still protracted his delay ; but, at the same time, he informed his associates that no excuses could any longer avail, and urged the necessity of instantly striking the decisive blow which was to determine their fate and that of the kingdom.

No arguments were necessary to stimulate the conspirators to immediate action. Aware of the dangerous ground on which they stood, they had already numbered, with impatience, the hours spent in deliberation, and every part of their plan was arranged. It was determined that the Duke of Braganza should await at Villa Viciosa the success of the enterprise, while the conspirators, rousing the people to arms, should attack Vasconcellos, and seize the vice Queen, whose person would be a security for the peaceable conduct of the Spanish troops in the citadel,

Every method was now taken to excite a general insurrection of the people. Nothing could augment the general detestation of the tyranny of Spain; but, by alarming their fears, the multitude might be impelled to more immediate and more decisive action.* A report was artfully and expeditiously circulated through Lisbon, that the court of Madrid had determined to draw the nobility and the martial youth out of Portugal, and afterwards to pour a numerous Spanish army into the country, to seize on the capital, convey the inhabitants to slavery in the mines of America, and repeople the city with a colony of Spaniards. The most improbable tales were readily believed by an ignorant and ex-

Dec. 1. asperated populace. At a signal given
A. D. 1640. by the discharge of a pistol at eight o'clock in the morning, all Lisbon rushed to arms. One party attacked and cut to pieces the German guards, while another, conducted by Pinto Ribeiro, forced the palace. The secret of the conspiracy, though necessarily communicated to a great number of persons, several of whom were of the lowest order, had been kept with astonishing fidelity: not a whisper had come to the ears of the government; and the

* For a circumstantial account of these singular transactions, see L'Abbé Vertot *Revol. du Portugal*.

shouts of "Long live the Duke of Braganza," first announced to Vasconcellos the end of his power and his life. The rapid approach of danger allowed him no means of resistance or escape. He was dragged from a private closet in which he had endeavoured to conceal himself, and being pierced with numerous wounds, his mangled body was thrown out of a window.

The vice Queen, who had never approved the oppressive measures of Vasconcellos, was astonished but not intimidated at his fate. She imagined these violences to be directed solely against the minister, and met the conspirators with a decent firmness. But they soon informed her of the object and extent of the conspiracy, and, by the menace of instant death, extorted from her an order for the Spanish troops to evacuate the citadel. The commanding officer, dismayed by the shouts of the populace, immediately obeyed, and might probably think himself happy in being able to disguise his own fears under a pretended respect for the representative of his sovereign.

While those things were transacting at Lisbon, the Duke of Braganza awaiting, at Villa Viciosa,* the issue of the enterprise, counted the moments

* Villa Viciosa, in the province of Alentejo is about 85 miles from Lisbon.

of suspense with impatience ; he knew that the blow which was to establish his fortune or seal his ruin had already been struck, and his mind was agitated by alternate hopes and apprehensions. From this state of tormenting uncertainty he was at length relieved by the arrival of two of the principal conspirators to congratulate him as King of Portugal. He immediately set out for Lisbon, and entered that city amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, whose attachment to the House of Braganza was confirmed by their aversion to the dominion of Spain. The other cities and provinces of Portugal followed the example of the capital : the greatest part of the Spanish troops had been withdrawn to augment the army destined for the reduction of Catalonia, and the rest, astonished and dismayed, gladly accepted the offer of a safe retreat to the frontiers of Spain. This sudden and extraordinary revolution being successfully completed, the Duke of Braganza assumed the title of John IV. King of Portugal ; and the ceremony of his coronation was performed with solemn magnificence.

CHAP. IX.

Olivarez excites a conspiracy in Portugal,—Disappointment of his schemes.—The Catalans put themselves under the protection of the French monarch.—Ill success of both branches of the House of Austria.—The Spaniards maintain their reputation in the Netherlands.—Death of Cardinal Richelieu.—Disgrace and death of Olivarez.—Don Louis Haro de Guzman succeeds him in the ministry.—Battle of Roeroi.—Military operations in Germany, Portugal, the Netherlands, and Italy.—Insurrection of Naples.—Peace concluded between Spain and the Dutch, and between France and the Emperor.—Active war between Spain and France.—Cromwell commences hostilities against Spain.—His motives.—Jamaica taken by the English.—The fleet from Peru burned by the English.—Dunkirk and Mardyke taken and delivered to Cromwell.—Defeat of the Spaniards in Portugal.—Treaty of the Pyrenees.—War with Portugal continued.—Bloody defeat of the Spaniards at Villa Viciosa.—Death of Philip IV.—His character.

THE unexpected revolt of Portugal spread consternation through the court of Madrid. The minister alone endeavoured to conceal his uneasiness under an air of gaiety; and in communicating the unwelcome intelligence congratulated his sovereign on an event which would, by forfeiture, annex to the crown the vast pa-

rimonial estates of the Duke of Braganza. Although Philip had long been accustomed to adopt the ideas of his minister, he could not consider the matter as of trifling importance, and commanded Olivarez to take the most vigorous measures for extinguishing the rebellion. But the disease was too violent for the feeble remedies that the court of Madrid could apply. The Portuguese colonies followed the example of the mother country, and cast off the yoke of Spain: an alliance was formed between the courts of Lisbon and Paris; and the Dutch had concluded a truce with Portugal.

The Spanish minister seeing himself unable, by arms, to overwhelm the House of Braganza, and effect the subjugation of Portugal, employed, for those purposes, the arts of intrigue and the machinations of treachery. A desperate conspiracy was formed by the Archbishop of Braga and the Marquis of Villa Real, who corresponded with Olivarez, and received from him considerable sums of money, by means of which they attached to their party a number of indigent, disappointed, and desperate persons. Their plan was to assassinate the King and set fire to the capital; and amidst the general confusion, a body of Spanish troops were to be introduced, in order to re-establish the authority of Philip. But at the moment when the plan was ripe for

execution, an intercepted letter disclosed the impending danger. The two chiefs of the conspiracy were immediately arrested: the Marquis of Villa Real was tried, condemned, and publicly executed: but the new King, who was unwilling, in the infancy of his reign, to embroil himself with the court of Rome, permitted the Archbishop of Braga to expiate his crimes in a prison, where he expired the victim of grief and disappointment.

While Olivarez relied on the success of this conspiracy for the re-establishment of the dominion of Spain over Portugal, Philip, in person, conducted the march of his army towards Catalonia. But his expedition only produced the disagreeable conviction that the fortune of Spain was rapidly declining. The Catalans had placed themselves under the protection of the French monarch, who had sent an army to their support, and the strong fortrefs of Perpignan facilitated the communication between France and Catalonia. The whole Province of Roussillon was conquered by the French. Both the branches of the House of Austria were exposed to incessant disgrace and defeat. In Germany the Imperialists were unable to withstand the French and the Swedes; and in Piedmont, Lorrain, and Catalonia, the Spaniards were defeated in several bloody engagements. In the

Netherlands alone they maintained that reputation which had once entitled them to the admiration of Europe; and the reduction of Aire covered with glory the last moments of the Cardinal Infant, the brother of Philip, who expired of a malignant fever soon after the surrender of that important fortress.

In the midst of triumphs and successes, Cardinal Richelieu expired, and his death was followed by that of Louis XIII. who survived him only six months.* A new administration, and an infant reign in France, flattered the House of Austria with the hope of regaining its former ascendancy. But the spirit of Richelieu seemed still to direct the machine which his genius had set in motion; and his successor, Cardinal Mazarine, who was but little inferior to him in political science, adopted, with ardour, his projects.

Richelieu had been only six weeks in the grave when the Count-Duke of Olivarez was dismissed by Philip from the administration of Spain.† From every part of the kingdom a general cry of indignation had long assailed him

* Cardinal Richelieu died at Paris, aged 58, on the 1st December, 1642. Louis XIII. died on the 14th of May, 1643.

† M. Le President Henault blames Philip for discarding Olivarez at the only moment when he might have retrieved the affairs of Spain. *Ab. Chron. 2d. An. 1640.*

in vain; but at length he sunk beneath the influence of the imperial branch of the House of Austria. The Emperor represented him to Philip as the author of all the disasters which had blasted their prospects; and Olivarez received, from his sovereign, an order to retire to his seat at Loches. This mandate had been extorted from Philip, and had the minister submitted in silence, he might have been restored to his former authority; but his fiery impatience confirmed, for ever, his sentence. He published a spirited and well written vindication of his conduct; but it attacked, with so much acrimony, most of the leading characters of the court, that the King was obliged to yield up his own inclinations to the general torrent of their resentment. A second decree changed his exile from his paternal seat at Loches to the city of Toro, where he afterwards died of chagrin, which, as the President Henault, quoting the words of a Spanish author, observes, is often the fate of men of great genius dismissed from office and unaccustomed to repose.*

The successor of Olivarez was his nephew, and his most implacable enemy, Don Louis Haro de Gusman, who was less daring and magnificent in his projects, but more cautious than

* Henault. Ab. Chron. ubi supra.

his predecessor. His administration, however, commenced with a train of inauspicious events. At Rocroi the Spanish infantry, so long renowned throughout Europe, was broken by the impetuous charge of the Duke d'Enghien, who, with the illustrious title of Conde, afterwards acquired the merited surname of Great. On that bloody field the slaughter of nine thousand Spaniards attested the decisive victory of the French.

A. D. 1644. In Germany the House of Austria was equally unsuccessful. The career of the Prince of Conde was a continued series of victories. The banners of France were displayed on the walls of Spire, Mentz, Philippsburg, Worms, Oppenheim, Creutznac, and Landau. On the side of Flanders, Gravelines, after a bloody siege of two months, was reduced by the French, and Sas van Gand, by the Prince of Orange. But in Spain, affairs took a somewhat more favourable turn: Philip made himself master of Lerida, and obliged the French to raise the siege of Terragona.

A. D. 1645. The next campaign was not less disastrous to Spain than those by which it had been preceded. The Imperialists were defeated in several actions in Germany: in the Netherlands the French reduced Mardyke, Liuk, Bourbourg, Bethune, Cassel, Merville, St. Venant,

Lilliers, Armentieres, Comines, Marchiennes, Lens, Orchies, and Arleux. The Spaniards retook Cassel and Mardyke; but the Prince of Orange made himself master of Hulst. On the side of the Pyrenees the French took Rosas. In Portugal the Spanish army, under the Marquis of Torrecusa, was defeated by the Duke D'Albuquerque, and obliged to raise the siege of Elvas.

A. D. 1646. In the course of the following year, Courtray was taken by the French, and Mardyke after a short but bloody siege of seventeen days, was again reduced under their dominion. The Duke of Orleans also made himself master of Furnes and Dunkirk. Nor were the Spaniards more successful by sea: near the coast of Tuscany their fleet was defeated by that of France; but in Catalonia the successes of the war were various, and neither side gained any decisive advantage.

The gloom which a rapid series of public disasters had thrown over the court of Madrid was increased by private calamities. Isabella, the consort of Philip, had, by her virtues, acquired the esteem and affection of the Spaniards, and her death, which happened at this juncture, was the more regretted as it was followed by that of the Infant Baltazar, whose early talents seemed to promise the future prosperity of the kingdom.

The place of Isabella was supplied by the Archduchess Mary Anne, the daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand III. and the celebration of the royal nuptials mingled a few moments of festivity with the miseries of war.

A. D. 1647. In Flanders the operations of the campaign were numerous and complicated, and the successes were nearly balanced. In Spain the Prince de Conde, formerly Duke d'Enghien, was obliged to raise the siege of Lerida, after sustaining considerable loss from the desperate sorties made by its veteran garrison. In Italy the arms of Spain were beginning to gain an ascendancy over those of France; but the junction of the Duke of Modena with the French, and the revolt of Naples, prevented the Constable of Castile from making any great progress in that quarter.

Naples, celebrated for its happy situation, its genial climate, its fertile environs, its commerce, and its opulence, although far removed from the hostile theatre, severely felt the effects of those wars which the court of Madrid waged on the distant frontiers of Flanders, France, and Germany. The people were weighed down under the burden of taxes, which had been incessantly multiplied during the reigns of Philip IV. and his two predecessors. A new impost on fruits and vegetables exhausted their patience :

at this critical juncture appeared one of those daring men, who, in contemplating the public misery, lose sight of private danger. Thomas Aniello, whose name has been corrupted into that of Maffaniello, was a native of Amalfi : he earned his livelihood by the selling of fish ; but though destitute of education, he possessed a ready eloquence as well as an undaunted spirit. This man excited a most formidable insurrection. An officer employed to collect the new tax was driven from the market-place ; and so great was the fury of the populace that the Viceroy had scarcely time to escape from his palace to the citadel. The insurrection soon became general : from every street, from every lane and alley, Naples vomited forth her indigent and desperate offspring, and above eighty thousand Neapolitans in arms, demanded the abolition of taxes and the restoration of their ancient privileges. Don Joseph Caraffa, with a party of his adherents, attempting to oppose them, was overwhelmed by their fury : his head was cut off and exposed on a pole, and his body was dragged in triumph through the city. The bloody spectacle appalled the Viceroy, who, surrounded in the citadel without stores to sustain a siege, apprehended a similar fate. Aniello had ordered the pipes to be cut which supplied the castle with water ; and the governor, in order to

avoid the popular fury, was glad to have recourse to negotiation. Through the mediation of the Cardinal Archbishop of Naples, a treaty was concluded, of which the principal articles were the restitution of the charters granted by Ferdinand and Charles V. and the abolition of all the taxes imposed since the reigns of those Princes, together with a general amnesty to all concerned in the insurrection.

The causes which precipitated the fate of Aniello are involved in mystery. The Spanish writers say that he grew giddy with success, and that, dazzled by the height to which he had attained, his disordered understanding impelled him to extravagances which exposed him to the indignation of the populace; while others assert that he drew upon himself the resentment of his followers, by endeavouring to confine them within the limits of temperance and justice during the period which elapsed between the conclusion of the treaty and its ratification by the King. The President Henault ascribes the assassination of Aniello to the Viceroy: * there is no doubt that the nobility artfully improved the discontents which prevailed between the demagogue and his followers, who soon began to envy the authority which he exercised; and such is the unsteadiness

* *Abrege Chronologique* ad An. 1647.

of that hydra-headed monster, the multitude, that the banditti of Naples either perpetrated, or willingly permitted, the death of him whom they had so lately considered as their deliverer.

A. D. 1648. The death of Aniello encouraged the Viceroy to violate the treaty : a second revolt took place : a civil war was kindled in the city ; and Gennaro, who headed the insurgents, advised them to offer the crown to the Duke of Guise. That nobleman yielded to the splendid temptation ; but Cardinal Mazarine, who governed France in the name of Louis XIV. regarding the enterprize as romantic, refused to support him with troops. The Duke, however, in an open boat, eluded the vigilance of the Spanish cruisers, and safely reached the coast of Italy. The Neapolitans, who had flattered themselves that he would bring to their assistance a powerful armament, began to repent of the step which they had taken ; and the arrival of Don John of Austria, the natural son of Philip, with a strong body of Spanish troops, opened their eyes to the danger of the contest in which they had engaged. They gladly accepted the offer of an amnesty : the Duke of Guise was made prisoner by the Spaniards ; and Naples was reduced to her former state of submission.

In the mean while the political aspect of

Europe was beginning to change some of its features. The German branch of the House of Austria, exhausted by a long and disastrous war, already meditated a peace with France: the Dutch were growing jealous of the power of Mazarine, and suspicious of his designs; and Philip, who expected to lose his great ally, was desirous of diminishing the number of his enemies. A treaty was concluded between the court of Madrid and the United Provinces: by which the latter were declared free and independent states, and Spain relinquished all those objects for which she had maintained a war of seventy years duration, at an enormous expense of blood and treasure.

This treaty was soon followed by another between the courts of Vienna and Paris; and Philip IV. while engaged in a doubtful war with Catalonia and Portugal, was left to contend alone against the rising power of France. The exertions, however, which he made, were not unworthy the ancient glory of Spain. In the Netherlands the Archduke Leopold commenced his martial career with vigour and success; but he sunk before the genius and fortune of the great Conde. After taking Courtray and Furnes, he was totally defeated at Lens, with the loss of eight thousand veterans killed, wounded, and prisoners.

But the spirit of discord, which had threatened to subvert, protected the throne of Philip ; and France, as well as Spain, became the theatre of faction and intestine commotion. By the intrigues of Mazarine, the Prince of Conde was obliged to quit France and seek refuge in Spain, where he was received with the respect due to his rank and his talents, and placed at the head of a considerable body of troops.

The Prince of Conde, now a rebel against his sovereign, and a general in the service of Spain, was opposed to the famous Mareschal Turenne, a rival not inferior to himself in military renown, and both maintained the reputation which they had long possessed of being the most skilful commanders in Europe. Near Stenai, Turenne forced the Spanish lines ; but amidst the terror and confusion of defeat, Conde preserved the lustre of his former glory : with two regiments alone he checked the pursuit of the victors, and saved the army of Spain from destruction.

In Catalonia the war was carried on with vigour. The Marquis of Montero had reduced Tortosa ; and Don John of Austria, at the head of the Spanish army, advanced to Barcelona. During the space of fifteen months a gallant resistance was made by the French garrison ; but Don John pushed his attacks with an ardour that overbore all opposition. The French sur-

rendered by capitulation : the inhabitants obtained a general amnesty ; and with the exception of Rosas, the whole Province of Catalonia again acknowledged the authority of Philip. In Italy the arms of Spain had wrested Casal from the Duke of Savoy : in Flanders the Spaniards had recaptured Gravelines and Dunkirk ; but Landrecy and Quesnoy were successively surrendered to the Marechal de Turenne. St Guillian was taken by Louis XIV. in person ; and the Prince of Conde was unable to turn the tide of fortune in favour of Spain. That illustrious commander, however, maintained his former reputation, and, seconded by Don John of Austria, forced the lines of Turenne before the walls of Valenciennes.

Philip, in the mean while, saw himself attacked by a new and formidable enemy. The address of Cardinal Mazarine had attached to his interests the usurper Cromwell, who then governed England. The political judgment of Cromwell has been arraigned by posterity for assisting France in exalting herself on the ruins of Spain. The experience of after times has shewn the effects of this erroneous policy ; but in that age, and in those immediately preceding, the exorbitant power of Spain had been the terror of Europe ; and ever since the time of the Armada, a war with that country had been a

popular measure with the English nation. An elegant and judicious historian, in speaking of the Spanish monarchy, observes, that “Nothing
“ can give a more striking idea of the ascen-
“ dency which it had acquired, and of the terror
“ which it had inspired, than that after its vigour
“ was spent in extraordinary exertions of its
“ strength, after Spain was become only the
“ shadow of a great name, and its monarchs were
“ sunk into debility and dotage, the House of
“ Austria still continued to be formidable. The
“ nations of Europe had so often felt its superior
“ power, and had been so constantly employed in
“ guarding against it, that the dread of it had
“ become a kind of political habit, the influence
“ of which remained when the causes, which had
“ formed it, had ceased to exist.”* These political ideas might probably have the same influence on Cromwell as on the other statesmen of Europe; but it must also be observed that his precarious situation taught him to look to present and private advantage. He knew that the defenceless state of the Spanish colonies afforded him a fair opportunity, not only of distinguishing his administration by a successful war, but also of establishing his absolute power in England by

* Robertson's Hist. Charles V. vol 4. p. 344.

means of the treasure of Mexico and Peru.* But if the Protector neither discerned nor consulted the true interests of England, impartial history will allow that he displayed both energy and skill in calling her resources into action. A considerable squadron, with a body of troops, was sent to attack Hispaniola. Through the ill judged measures of the military commander, the expedition failed in regard to its primary object; but the important island of Jamaica was annexed to the British empire.†

May 17.
A. D. 1655.

Another fleet was intrusted to the command of Blake, whose name soon became the glory of England and the terror of Spain. His cruisers swept the Mediterranean, and intercepted the galleons in the Atlantic. Near Cadiz, Blake and Montague took two prizes of an immense value, and burned in the harbour of Santa Cruz, in the island of Tenariff, the homeward bound fleet from Peru. On this occasion the English gained nothing but glory;

* It has been supposed that Cromwell was prompted to undertake this war against Spain by Thomas Gage, who had been a priest in Mexico, and who represented to the Protector the wealth and the weakness of the Spanish colonies. Vide Burnet, p. 74.

Gage wrote a book on the subject, which is now become extremely scarce: it abounds with exaggerations and misrepresentations. It has been supposed that Cromwell's chief motive for this war was to obtain money without depending on the parliament. Welwood, p. 100.

† Clarendon, vol. 3. p. 454.

but the Spaniards sustained a very great loss in ships, men, money, and merchandise.

A. D. 1657. England and France now became more closely united against Spain.

A treaty offensive and defensive was concluded between Cromwell and Cardinal Mazarine. Their combined forces successively reduced Montmedy, St. Venant, and Mardyke. In the

A. D. 1658. following year, Mareschal Turenne,

with the French army and the English auxiliaries, besieged Dunkirk; and Don John of Austria, with the Prince of Conde, advancing to its relief, were defeated with the loss of twelve hundred killed and two thousand prisoners.* Dunkirk soon after surrendered to Mareschal Turenne, and with Mardyke, was delivered up to Cromwell, according to the terms of the treaty.

In Portugal the death of John IV. revived the hopes of Philip, and prompted him to new exertions. A formidable army, animated by the presence of the minister Don Louis de Haro, was sent to the frontier; and the Portuguese troops, who had invested Bajadoz, retired at his approach. Don Louis, encouraged by their retreat, advanced and laid siege to Elvas. The throne of Portugal was filled by a feeble

* Whitelock, p. 673.

infant ; but the Dowager Queen displayed, in age, the same spirit which, in her youth, had animated her consort to aspire to the crown. Her voice roused her subjects to arms : under the Marquis of Castagliano, the forces of Portugal pressed forward towards the Guadiana. The Spaniards were commanded by the Duke of St. Germain, an Italian nobleman of approved skill and experience, who, confiding in the ancient renown and discipline of his troops, ventured to engage the superior numbers of the enemy. The event was unfavourable to Spain : in less than an hour the Duke of St. Germain was killed : his soldiers gave way : a furious charge, made by the Portuguese, increased their confusion ; and from a neighbouring eminence, Don Louis de Haro beheld the total defeat of the army.

The court of Madrid now reluctantly confessed that the resources of Spain were inadequate to the multiplied scenes of hostility in which the kingdom was involved. The arms of Turenne were still victorious in Flanders, nor could even a hope be cherished that Spain, exhausted by so long and so disastrous a series of wars, could maintain a successful contest with Portugal, France, and England. Her efforts had exceeded her strength : her martial youth were slaughtered : her finances ruined : her manu-

factures extinguished : her fields deserted : and peace alone could enable her again to raise her drooping head.

To attain this desirable object a negotiation was entered into with France, and fortunately for Philip, Cardinal Mazarine, who governed Louis XIV. with absolute sway, was disposed to put an end to a ruinous war. The conferences took place in the Isle of Pheasants, on the confines of the two kingdoms, where Don Louis de Haro and Cardinal Mazarine appeared as the representatives of their respective sovereigns. The ostentatious pomp of the Spanish minister was calculated to disguise the poverty of his country : twelve coaches, preceded by forty led horses, and followed by as many mules with trappings of gold and silver, embossed with valuable gems, advanced in solemn and splendid procession ; and his train was composed of the most illustrious knights of the three military orders ;* nor did he, in his interview with Mazarine, forget his own dignity or that of Spain. In the dispute relating to precedence some time was consumed ; but the Spanish minister vindicated, with inflexible constancy, the equal pretensions of the court of Madrid, and his resolute perseverance proved successful.

* Of St. Jago, Alcantara, and Calatrava.

The conferences terminated in the celebrated treaty of the Pyrenees, which confirmed to France the Provinces of Rouffillon and Alsace, and bestowed the hand of the Infanta, with a portion of five hundred thousand crowns of gold, on Louis, who solemnly renounced every claim of succession that might devolve on him or his heirs in right of the marriage. The French monarch restored Lorrain to its Duke, and the cities of St. Omers, Ypres, Menin, and Oudenarde, to Spain, and consented to pardon the rebellion of the Prince of Conde, and to reinstate him in his former possessions. Philip, on his side, relinquished Verceil to the Duke of Savoy, Reggio to the Duke of Modena, the territory of Monaco to its Prince, and Juliers to the Duke of Newbourg.

Thus ended the war which, during the space of twenty-five years, had been waged between France and Spain. This historical summary has only exhibited a sketch of its principal events: the battles and sieges were numerous; and the particular details would fill many volumes. In a general view, it suffices to observe that this long and sanguinary contest, directed by the genius of Richelieu and of Mazarine, established the ascendancy of France, and precipitated the decline of Spain.

A. D. 1660, 1665. From the treaty of the Pyrenees the reign of Philip IV. was protracted through five inglorious years. The bloody struggle with France was ended; but Spain was still doomed to suffer the calamities of war. The recovery of Portugal remained the darling object of the court of Madrid; and, in the prosecution of that enterprize, Philip and his ministers were mournfully convinced that the resources of the Spanish monarchy, exhausted by visionary projects, were left unequal to the conquest of that narrow territory. Don John of Austria reduced the towns of Arunches and Alconchel; but the courage of the Portuguese was confirmed by their alliance with Charles II. who, being restored to the throne of England, had espoused the Princess Catharine, sister to their monarch. The progress of Don John of Austria was far from corresponding with the sanguine expectations of the Spanish ministers: by the capture of Evora he spread consternation through Lisbon; but the scarcity of provisions obliged him to retreat. His rear was attacked by the Portuguese army, led on by the Count of Schomberg: he was obliged to pass through a narrow defile: the heights were occupied by the enemy: the Spaniards were surprised and overwhelmed: their commander endeavoured to restore their broken ranks and revive their courage; but his efforts were in

vain: they fled in confusion, and not less than four thousand perished.

The garrisons of Flanders, and of the Milanese, were drained to raise a third and last army; and the command was given to the Marquis of Caracena, who boasted that, in a single campaign, he would make himself master of Lisbon. But on the plain of Claros, near Villa Viciosa, he saw his presumption confounded. In a bloody conflict, which lasted eight hours, he was totally defeated by the Portuguese army, commanded by Count Schomberg and the Marquis of Marialva: of the Spaniards four thousand were killed and as many made prisoners; and those who escaped, being broken and dispersed, sought shelter in the fortified towns on their own frontier.

Disease, and a long train of disappointment, had made a deep impression on the constitution of Philip: with this last disastrous event his cup of affliction overflowed: the letter, which communicated the unwelcome intelligence, dropped from his hand: endeavouring to smother his anxiety under the sentiments of pious resignation, he exclaimed, "It is the will of God!" but his feelings overpowered his strength; and he immediately fell senseless into the arms of his attendants. He recovered from his swoon to hear the murmurs of his subjects, and receive

the depressing intelligence of another irruption of the Portuguese into Andalusia. A general despondency prevailed through the nation, and extended itself to the court: the ministers renounced their splendid pretensions and visionary hopes; while Philip himself, wearied out by a long and troublesome reign, expressed a wish to close his last moments in tranquillity, and acknowledged the necessity of a peace with Portugal. But Providence did not permit him to enjoy the happiness which he desired. Before a negotiation commenced, he was seized with a dysentery, which baffled the skill of the physicians, and he beheld the approach of death with composure. The short space of time that remained, he employed in securing to his infant son the succession to the throne: he assigned to his consort the Regency, and appointed a council to assist her with advice. After having made these arrangements Philip IV. expired in the
A. D. 1665. sixty-first year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign, which had been as bloody and turbulent as any recorded in history. From the day of his accession to that of his death, Spain never enjoyed one moment of peace.

The long series of public calamities which fatally distinguished his reign, have served, in a great measure, to obscure his character. Ascend-

ing the throne at an early age, he was easily prevailed on to resign himself up to voluptuous ease : the ambition of Olivarez, whose ruling passion was the lust of power, employed every means to estrange him from business ; and habits of indolence rendered him the slave of his ministers. Yet the natural genius of Philip IV. was far from despicable : he could speak with energy and eloquence. He encouraged the study of letters and the arts by his application as well as his patronage : he displayed his literary attainments in the composition of a tragedy ; and the additions which he made to the massy pile of the Escorial, remain, to this day, the monuments of his magnificence and taste.

CHAP. X.

Accession of Charles II.—Calamitous state of Spain.—Peace with Portugal.—War between Spain and France.—Peace concluded.—Factions of the Court of Madrid.—Elevation and fall of Nitard.—Elevation of Valenzuela.—His character.—Disordered state of the Spanish finances.—Confederacy of Spain, Holland, and Germany, against France.—Operations of the war.—Power and popularity of Valenzuela.—Defeat of the combined fleets of Spain and Holland by the French.—Downfall of Valenzuela.—Don John of Austria appointed to the ministry.—Ill success of the allies —Peace of Nimeguen.—Death of Don John of Austria.—Extreme poverty and depression of Spain.—Administration of the Duke of Medina Coeli.—Unsuccessful war with France.—A truce concluded.—League between the cabinets of Madrid, Vienna, London, Turin, and the Hague, against France.—Operations of the war.—Peace of Ryswick.—Intrigues of the European courts on the subject of the Spanish succession.—Treaties of partition.—Testament of Charles II.—His death.—His character.—View of the causes of the depopulation and decline of Spain.

CHARLES II. was only three years of age when the death of his father devolved on him the crown of Spain; an inheritance surrounded with troubles and difficulties. Forty-four years of incessant war, and almost invariable defeat, had exhausted the resources of the nation : pes-

tilence and famine contributed to swell the long list of public calamities: the infant hands of Charles were unable to sway the sceptre: dissensions between the Queen Regent and the nobility weakened and unhinged the government: while the court was divided into factions, the kingdom was threatened with invasion; and the Spaniards, who had so often carried their victorious arms into the centre of Italy, France, and Germany, were unable to defend their own territory. Another irruption of the Portuguese into Estremadura had exposed the weakness of Spain; and the menaces of Louis XIV. induced the ministers

A. D. 1668. of Madrid to conclude a treaty of peace with Portugal, which, after a war of twenty-eight years, secured the independence of that kingdom.

In the mean while the storm burst upon Spain from the quarter which she most dreaded. Louis XIV. on receiving the hand of the Infanta Maria, had solemnly renounced all claims of succession which might arise from the rights of that Princess. But amidst the interference of political interests, the most sacred treaties are often disregarded. The French monarch, with a powerful army, conducted by Turenne, burst into the Netherlands. His banners were instantly displayed from the walls of Ath, Tournay, Oudenarde, Courtray, Charleroi, and Lifle; and the Prince

of Conde reduced, in a short time, the Province of Franche Compté. But although the native resources of Spain were inadequate to her defence, she derived protection from the policy of her neighbours. The resentment which the Dutch had so long entertained against the court of Madrid, was buried in their jealousy of the aggrandizement of France: the progress of Louis, in the Netherlands, alarmed them for their independence; and they formed a league with England and Sweden, in order to set bounds to his progress. In consequence of so powerful a mediation, the King of France consented to listen to proposals of peace. Spain regained her authority over Franche Compté, but Louis retained his important acquisitions in the Netherlands.

In the mean while the court of Madrid was split into various factions. The principal favourite and counsellor of the Queen Regent was Everard Nitard, a German Jesuit, who, in the capacity of her confessor, had acquired an entire ascendancy over that Princess, and obtained the important office of Inquisitor General. The authority of this minister was opposed by Don John of Austria: the principal nobles ranged themselves on the side of the latter, who, at the head of a few chosen followers, marched to Madrid, and insisted on the dismissal of Nitard. The Queen declared her intention of vindicating

her authority by arms ; but her orders to assemble the troops were neglected or tardily obeyed ; and her constancy being shaken by the clamours of the people, she consented to the removal of her favourite, whose banishment was concealed under the specious name of an embassy to Rome, where her patronage procured him the dignity of Cardinal.

Her vengeance, however, soon burst on his persecutor. The popular pretence which had sanctioned the appearance of Don John of Austria in arms no longer remained ; and the Queen sent him an order to retire to the distance of thirty miles from Madrid. The discontents of the people, however, still continued, and Don John was preparing to have recourse to arms, but a negotiation taking place, he was appointed Viceroy of Arragon ; and the Duke of Ossuna, another of the factious nobles, was appeased by receiving the government of Milan. But in the compromise of parties the grievances of the people, as is commonly the case, were neglected, or studiously passed over in silence.

After the dismissal of Nitard, the Queen Regent soon made choice of a new favourite. Ferdinand de Valenzuela, a gentleman of small fortune, a native of Ronda, in the Province of Grenada, had been compelled by necessity, or allured by ambition, to quit the tranquillity of

a small city for the bustle of the capital. He was admitted into the train of the Duke del Infantado, and accompanied that nobleman in his embassy to Rome. The gracefulness of his person and address, the vivacity of his wit, and the eloquence of his discourse, prepossessed in his favour all those who approached him or enjoyed his conversation: his natural genius was improved by study: he possessed and cultivated a happy talent for poetry, and his verses were equally admired for their elegance and pathos. But he was particularly fortunate in acquiring the favour of his master, whose patronage, on his return to Madrid, procured his admission among the knights of the honourable order of St. Jago. The death of the Duke del Infantado, for a moment, clouded his hopes and reduced him to great distress; but his sanguine temper never suffered him to despond, and whatever might be the pressure of present events he always looked forward with confidence. He obtained an introduction to Nitard, who was then in the zenith of his power, and the Inquisitor General, who perceived him to be subtle, bold, and intriguing, soon honoured him with his friendship. By espousing Eugenia, a German lady, one of the Queen's female attendants, Valenzuela established his fortune on a still broader basis. The fall of his

patron, which he regarded as one of the greatest calamities, proved the immediate cause of his subsequent grandeur. The esteem of Nitard, and his marriage with Eugenia, had preferred him to the notice of the Queen Regent of Spain : the advantages of youth, beauty, and address, recommended him to her patronage : he acquired her confidence, and was supposed to share her pleasures ; and she was industrious in heaping honours on the object of her esteem or affection. She promoted him to the dignity of Marquis, conferred on him the office of master of the horse, and created him a grandee of Spain, while the pride of the Castilian nobles was wounded at seeing those honours, which they held in the highest veneration, bestowed on a person of obscure extraction.

The Spanish monarchy, in the mean while, was afflicted with all the evils that could flow from a weak and corrupt administration. In America the Buccaneers, a daring race of freebooters, collected from every nation, ranged the seas with impunity ; and, not content with preying on the commerce of Spain, they had the audacity to attack her colonies. But the scenes of rapine and defeat, which laid waste her distant possessions, were not more distressing than the neglect and profusion which characterized her government at home. The people renewed

their clamours, and to sooth their angry spirits the Regent instituted a council for examining and retrenching the useless expenses of the court. But this committee, as is commonly the case, was far from answering its ostensible purpose. The members, attentive only to their private interests, were blind to the frauds of the financiers, and, joining in every species of speculation, increased the abuses which they were appointed to suppress. A crowd of public officers swallowed up immense sums. Some idea may be formed of the enormous advantages which they usurped, from the salary of the Chancellor of the Council of the Indies, who derived from his office an annual income of six hundred thousand ducats per annum—a sum more than equivalent to as many pounds sterling at the present day. At this corrupt and inglorious period the produce of the mines of Mexico and Peru were nearly divided between the Buccaneers of America and the rapacious ministers of Madrid; and a very small remnant was spared to support the dignity of the crown, and to maintain the naval and military establishments.

A. D. 1672. In one instance, however, the court of Madrid displayed a trait of magnanimity which contributed to maintain the balance of power in Europe. Louis XIV. strengthened by the alliance of England, had

commenced an unjust and unprovoked war against the Dutch; and his rapid progress threatened their republic with subjugation. He employed all his address to secure the neutrality of Spain; but the Queen Regent resisted his solicitations. Both the branches of the House of Austria undertook the protection of the United Provinces. The courts of Madrid and Vienna declared war against France; and the combined armies of Spain, Holland, and Germany, by a train of rapid successes, obliged Louis to abandon his conquests. But in order to counterbalance his disgrace in the Netherlands, he entered Franche Comte with a powerful army, and, in less than six weeks, reduced that province. In Sicily the inhabitants of Messina, being driven to revolt by the oppressions of their governor, invoked and obtained the assistance of France. During the space of three years the court of Madrid endeavoured, in vain, to extort their submission; but at length the Messinese finding the arrogance of their new more intolerable than the rapacity of their old masters, were willing again to acknowledge the authority of Spain.

In Germany and Flanders the war was carried on with activity: the imperial armies received three successive and bloody defeats from Marschal Turenne; but the confederate forces of Spain and Holland, in many a severe engage-

ment, bravely disputed the honours of the field with the troops and the generals of France.

A. D. 1676. The King of Spain had now attained the age of fifteen, the period fixed by the will of his father for his entering on the administration. But the young monarch was bewildered amidst the factions of his court. Don John of Austria and the Dowager Queen disputed the honour of directing the councils of the sovereign. The influence of the latter prevailed: Don John was ordered to retire to Saragossa; and under the sanction of the Queen, Valenzuela held, in the name of Charles, the reins of government.

The Spanish historians have condemned the presumption of that successful adventurer; but the impartial judgment of posterity will allow that the principal crime of Ferdinando Valenzuela was his obscure extraction. Conscious of the hatred of the grandees, he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the people. His care poured plenty into Madrid; and the citizens, who had long complained of the monopolies of corn, acknowledged, with gratitude, the fruits of his judicious and vigilant administration. Ambitious of the title of friend of the people, he was solicitous to gratify the passion of the Spaniards for public spectacles. Tournaments and bull fights were daily exhibited. Dramatic

pieces, composed by the minister himself, were represented, and the multitude, who were gratuitously admitted as spectators, applauded the liberality and genius of the author.

The war against France presented an active but unsuccessful scene. A series of naval disasters overwhelmed the hopes of Spain. Her fleet, combined with that of Holland, had been broken by the squadrons of France near Messina: the confederates retrieved their disgrace in a second engagement, rendered memorable by the death of the celebrated Dutch Admiral De Ruyter;* but in a third and more decisive engagement, the combined fleets of Spain and Holland were totally defeated with the loss of five thousand men, and twelve large ships of war burned, sunk, or otherwise destroyed; and the French riding triumphant in the Mediterranean, menaced Naples and Sicily.

The hatred which the grandees entertained against Valenzuela, impelled them to attribute to his administration all those disastrous events, instead of ascribing them to their true source, the exhausted resources of the kingdom, which had been lavished in useless wars by the am-

* Michael Adrian De Ruyter was mortally wounded in an action with the French Admiral Du Quesne on the coast of Sicily, April 27th, 1676, and died on the 29th; an elegant monument is erected to his memory in the new church at Amsterdam.

bition of former Kings and ministers. Charles fluctuated for some time between the rival factions that distracted his court; but at length he conceived a jealousy of the influence of his mother. The bondage in which he was held by the Queen, was painted to him in the most lively colours by the adherents of Don John of Austria, and the representation made so deep an impression on his mind that, accompanied by a single domestic, he escaped from the palace and repaired to Buen Retiro. A council was called of the principal grandees; and a royal mandate required the Queen to confine herself within the limits of the Escorial. Her measures had long been offensive to the nobles, and her imprudence had alienated the affections of the multitude. In a moment of thoughtless passion she had said that she could not be satisfied "until she had reduced the common people of Spain to wear cloaths made of rushes." The unguarded expression was neither forgotten nor forgiven; and the people of Madrid rejoiced at the termination of her power.

The removal of the Queen mother, from authority, proved fatal to her favourite. Don John of Austria gained the ascendancy at court; and he, as well as the other grandees of Spain, cherished an inflexible resentment against Valenzuela. In the sacred recess of a monastery that

minister, for some days, eluded the search of his enemies ; but being seized with an indisposition, he was betrayed by his physicians. When loaded with chains his intrepidity extorted the admiration of his persecutors. He appeared before the King and the council of state with an erect and undaunted countenance, and disgraced not his former grandeur by the meanness of supplication. After an imprisonment of some weeks he was drawn from his dungeon, and condemned to perpetual exile in the Philippine Islands, a severe destiny to a man whose magnificence had so long excited the envy and astonishment of Madrid.

Don John of Austria now saw himself without a rival in the administration of Spain ; but the success of his measures were far from answering the public expectation. Like the other ministers of that corrupted court, he was more occupied in establishing his own power than in promoting the interests of the people : no attempt was made to revive agriculture, manufactures, and commerce : the same abuses continued in the government ; the same peculation dissipated the revenue ; and the Spaniards still groaned under the weight of taxes, and the oppressions of the collectors. His administration was not more successful abroad than at home : the war was an uniform series of disasters : in Catalonia

and Sicily the Spanish armies were defeated ; and in the Netherlands, Valenciennes, Cambray, and St. Omer, were captured by the French. Yet, amidst all these losses, the court of Madrid, although destitute of resources to render success probable, was bent on the prosecution of the war. But the Dutch, finding themselves incapable of resisting the storm, concluded a separate peace at Nimeguen ; and the defection of so considerable a member of the confederacy obliged the House of Austria to accede to the conditions prescribed by France. The Emperor transferred Fribourg to the French monarch, and Spain, by the cession of Cambray, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Conde, Ypres, Aire, St. Omer, Bavai, Maubeuge, and the Province of Franche Comte, obtained an inglorious peace.

A. D. 1679. A war so disastrous, and a peace so disgraceful, exposed the measures of Don John of Austria to the general censure of the public, nor could a trifling advantage, gained over the Moors in Africa, efface the remembrance of the numerous defeats which the Spaniards had sustained in Flanders, in Sicily, and in Catalonia. The indigence of the State obliged him to have recourse to the invidious expedient of exposing to sale the public offices and dignities ; but the fidelity with which the money was applied to the national exigences was questionable. It was

evident, however, that the nation had gained nothing by the disgrace and banishment of Valenzuela. The genius of Don John of Austria was unequal to the arduous task of restoring the prosperity of Spain : a rapid decay was visible in every part of the empire ; and the influence of the minister declined in proportion as the hopes which had been founded on his administration proved fallacious.

The last public act of Don John was the negotiation of a marriage between his royal nephew and Louisa of Orleans, the niece of Louis XIV. but he did not live to behold an union to which he had so greatly contributed. The envy which had pursued him in power was buried with him in the grave. If his abilities were unequal to the disorders of the times, his station was surrounded with difficulties almost insurmountable. Every calamity that could press a declining empire seemed to be accumulated on Spain. Besides the exhaustion of her resources by long and disastrous wars, famine and pestilence desolated her provinces ; and all these calamities were scarcely more fatal to the parent country than the oppression and rapacity of the governors were destructive to the colonies. The navy was nearly annihilated, the army feeble and undisciplined, and the foldiers on the frontiers deserted for want of bread. The appoint-

ment of the Duke of Medina Cœli to the chief direction of affairs, only served to augment the public distress and confusion : his measures were rash and injudicious ; and the reduction of the copper coin, which, during the embarrassments of former ministers, had been raised to above six times its real value, suddenly involved in ruin the few merchants and manufacturers that remained in the kingdom. The arrival of the galleons from America did not relieve the poverty of the crown, nor alleviate the national distress : the treasures which they brought were exported to foreign countries, whose opulent merchants had, at an enormous usury, advanced the sums requisite for the celebration of the royal nuptials, which had been solemnized with a pomp that better accorded with the pride than with the poverty of Spain. The King derived little advantage from his tenths of the produce of the mines of Peru and Mexico. The sums to which they amounted were considerable ; but they were divided among a number of grandees, whose appointments and pensions swallowed up the revenue ; and the poverty of the crown was almost incredible.

Distress at home produced contempt abroad : Spain was insulted by the Elector of Brandenburg, who having in vain solicited the subsidies for the troops which he had furnished during

the late war, fitted out a small squadron, and seized a Spanish galleon, the value of which far exceeded his demands. The low state of the finances obliged the court of Madrid not only to overlook so humiliating a transaction, but also to make disgraceful concessions to Portugal, a country so lately subject to Spain; and Louis XIV. whose encroaching spirit was not restrained by the marriage of Charles with his niece, ordered the Spanish flag to be lowered at sea to that of France.

A. D. 1683. The King of Spain, however, soon

found that peace could not be preserved by concessions. Louis XIV. pretended that his ministers had forgotten to insert the cession of the country of Alost in the treaty of Nimeguen, and, under this unjust pretext, laid siege to Luxembourg. Charles, wearied out with repeated insults and injuries, declared war against France. Some efforts were made to provide funds for the exigences of the state, and the Duke of Medina Cœli reduced at least to one half the pensions granted in the preceding reign. In the mean while the banners of France were displayed from the walls of Dixmude and Courtray: a French army ravaged the frontiers of Spain, and menaced Fontarabia; and Luxembourg, reduced to extreme distress, without any prospect of succour, was at length compelled to

surrender. Spain, fatally convinced that her strength was unequal to the contest, consented to solicit a peace. Louis restored Dixmude and Courtray; but he kept possession of the important fortrefs of Luxembourg, and extorted from Charles the sum of two hundred thousand pounds sterling. On these conditions a truce for twenty years was signed between the courts

A. D. 1685. of Versailles and Madrid. With this

treaty the influence of the Duke of Medina Cœli expired. The courtiers were incensed by the reduction of their pensions, and the people were disgusted by the events of an unfortunate war. But amidst the general mass of corruption, the dismissal of an individual from office was of little advantage to the nation. The Count of Oropesa was placed at the head of the ministry, and adopted the same plans of reform with no better success. The same weakness and apathy continued at home, and the same insults were suffered from abroad. Under pretence of demanding satisfaction for the misconduct of the Spanish governors in South America, a French fleet appeared off Cadiz, and Charles was obliged to purchase an accommodation at the expense of half a million of crowns.

A. D. 1686 to 1689. The extreme debility of Spain, and the increasing strength of France, began to attract the attention of all the powers

of Europe. A defensive alliance was concluded at Augsbourg between the cabinets of Madrid, Vienna, Turin, and the Hague, when the revolution in England, which transferred the crown from James II. to William III. A. D. 1688. kindled or extended the flames of war.

Louis having espoused the cause of the exiled monarch, the forces of England were brought into the field to check the rising greatness of France; and the revolution contributed to support the sinking fortunes of the imperial House of Austria. Spain took an active part in the war, but her exhausted state did not permit her to derive much advantage from its operations. On the plains of Flanders her troops maintained their ancient reputation: at Fleurus the confederates were defeated with the loss of six thousand killed and eight thousand prisoners; but the Duke of Luxembourg confessed, that the Spanish infantry displayed on the bloody field of Fleurus the same valour which distinguished them at Rocroi. Spain, however, was the principal loser by this defeat. Louis, in order to reap the harvest of Luxembourg's valour, presented himself, with an army of a hundred thousand men, before Mons, and in the space of sixteen days that city surrendered to his arms.

To the pressure of foreign war were added the miseries of internal commotion. The Catalonians

erected the standard of revolt ; but the Duke of Villehermosa, having surprised and defeated the insurgents, put an end to the rebellion, and to the consternation which it had excited at Madrid. The same convulsions that agitated Catalonia afflicted the distant city of Mexico. The Viceroy having suppressed an annual festival, which was distinguished by scenes of popular riot, a desperate insurrection took place. The multitude attempted to set fire to the palace ; and a dreadful conflagration consumed a considerable part of that splendid and opulent city. But this popular tumult was easily appeased : the festival was re-established ; and no sooner did the Viceroy restore to the people the privilege of annually depriving themselves of their reason than they returned to their former obedience.

A. D. 1692. On the ocean England asserted her superiority, and the Duke of Savoy made a successful inroad into Dauphine ; but where Spain was chiefly concerned, the allies were exposed to continual disasters. The court of Madrid augmented its forces in the Netherlands ; and the King of England took the command of the confederate army. His presence, however, could not prevent the capture of Namur. That important city, which had a garrison of ten thousand men, and a citadel that was deemed impregnable, was compelled to sur-

render to the Duke of Luxembourg; and Spain had to regret the loss of a place, on the fortifications of which she had expended near half a million sterling. The capture of Namur was followed by the battle of Steinkirk, where, after a desperate action, in which the loss was nearly equal, amounting to about ten thousand men on each side, the King of England was obliged to give the signal for retreat, and to leave the field of battle to Luxembourg.

A. D. 1693. The ensuing campaign was distinguished by the battle of Neerwinden, which was fatal to the allies. In that strong position the King of England rather wished than dreaded an attack; but the genius and tactical skill of the Duke of Luxembourg triumphed over every difficulty: part of the left wing of the confederates was driven headlong into the Geete which winded along their rear; and many of them perished in that river: twelve thousand were left dead on the field, and two thousand were made prisoners. The Duke of Luxembourg lost eight thousand men; but the capture of Charleroy was the immediate fruit of his victory. In Catalonia the French were equally successful. Gironne was reduced by their arms,

A. D. 1694. and the Spaniards were defeated in different engagements. But the death of Marshal Luxembourg raised the spirits of the

allies ; and the recapture of Huy and Dixmude inspired the Spaniards with hopes of more splendid successes.

A. D. 1695. The recovery of Namur probably exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the court of Madrid ; but the exultation which that event inspired was checked by the wounds which the privateers of France inflicted on the commerce and colonies of Spain. The remittances of Mexico and Peru were intercepted by their activity : Carthagená was surprised by the French Admiral Pointis, and the booty acquired by the capture of that city was immense.

A. D. 1696. In every conflict the armies of France had been victorious ; but her finances were rapidly declining. The weight of the war had exceeded her resources ; and four hundred thousand men, whose only occupation was war and slaughter, devoured the subsistence of the peaceable and industrious husbandman. To a superficial observer France might have appeared an object of envy ; but her calamities kept pace with her glory : her provinces were depopulated to recruit her fleets and her armies : the pressure of war was accompanied by the ravages of famine ; and, in the midst of his victories and conquests, her monarch was convinced that nothing but peace could restore the prosperity

of his kingdom. Some overtures made to the court of Madrid were rejected, with incredible obstinacy, by Charles or his ministers, but the Duke of Savoy withdrew from the confederacy; and his defection rendered the House of Austria incapable of maintaining the war in Italy.

A. D. 1697. While the court of Madrid, amidst a continued series of disasters, refused to listen to any proposals of peace, the misfortunes of Spain were incessantly multiplied. The Duke de Vendosme, after defeating the Spanish armies in various actions, reduced Barcelona, and made himself master of the greatest part of Catalonia. The loss of so important a part of the kingdom might have induced the Spanish ministers to repent of their obstinacy: defeat and disaster pressed them on every side: in the Netherlands Ath was wrested from them by Marechal Catinat: Carthage, so recently pillaged by Admiral Pointis, was a second time sacked by the Buccaneers; but the pride of the House of Austria supported it under every calamity, and nothing was heard at Madrid and Vienna but menaces of war and vengeance. But the same spirit did not actuate the rest of the confederates; the Dutch could no longer be prevailed on to persist in a system so unfavourable to their commercial pursuits: they listened to the proposals of the French monarch; and the

Chateau of Ryfwick, near the Hague, was fixed on for the theatre of negotiation.

The King of Spain and the Emperor reluctantly consented to send their ambassadors to the congress; but they were conscious of their inability to maintain alone a war which, in concert with Holland and England, they had not been able to conduct with success. After some time, spent in conferences, a treaty of peace was concluded, and the conditions were such as the court of Madrid had little reason to expect from the disastrous events of the war. The French monarch agreed to evacuate Catalonia, and restore to Spain Courtray, Ath, Mons, and Luxembourg; and his concessions to the other powers were scarcely less considerable.

A. D. 1698, 1700. The treaty of Ryfwick had astonished all Europe. France, after a bloody but successful war, in which every campaign had been marked by her victories, subscribed a peace which could only have been expected had she been humbled by defeat; but we must return to Madrid for the solution of a mystery which at first embarrassed the conjectures of politicians. Though the King of Spain had scarcely completed his thirty-sixth year, a complication of diseases announced his approaching dissolution; and as that monarch had no issue, the succession to his throne was already the ob-

ject of the intrigues of Louis XIV. as well as of the Emperor Leopold. These Princes stood in the same degree of consanguinity ; for both were grandsons of Philip III. and both had married daughters of Philip IV. The pretensions of the House of Bourbon were fortified by priority of birth ; but in the treaty of the Pyrenees, Louis XIV. had solemnly renounced every claim that might arise from his marriage with the Infanta. The experience, however, of all ages has sufficiently proved that the pliant consciences of statesmen can easily find a pretext for the infraction of treaties, which they consider as binding only so long as they agree with their interests ; and it was solely the hope of uniting the dominions of Spain with those of France, that had induced Louis to sign that of Ryswick, and to expose himself to the censures of his subjects, who, being ignorant of his views, could not refrain from arraigning his policy.

The peace was no sooner concluded than he dispatched to Madrid the Marquis of Harcourt, a nobleman whose politeness, eloquence, and amiable manners, as well as his abilities for intrigue, were admirably calculated to promote the designs of his sovereign. By his affability he endeavoured to conciliate the people, and by numerous and magnificent presents he soon gained a considerable party in the court, while

the King himself could not but admire the elegance of his address and the charms of his conversation. The Marquis having discovered that Charles still cherished a tender regard for the memory of his first Queen, artfully availed himself of the impression : he frequently called his attention to the portraits of the Dauphin and his three sons, the Dukes of Burgundy, Anjou, and Berri, and assiduously traced the resemblance between their features and those of the deceased Louisa.

While the French ambassador promoted, by every artifice, the interests of the House of Bourbon, the reigning Queen, Mary Anne, a descendant of the House of Austria, was anxious to advance the Archduke Charles to the Spanish throne : the majority of the *grandees* attached themselves to her party ; but the plans of the Marquis of Harcourt were supported by the Cardinal of Portocarrero, Archbishop of Toledo, whose bold and artful genius rendered him fit for every undertaking.

The annexation of the Spanish dominions to those of either France or Austria must have destroyed the balance of power, and endangered the independence of Europe. The King of England especially dreaded the prodigious aggrandizement which France would receive from such an accession of Empire ; and in this view he proposed

to the court of Versailles and Vienna the famous partition treaty, which provided that Spain, with her possessions in the Netherlands and in America, should, on the decease of Charles, descend to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, who was grandson of Philip IV. that Naples and Sicily should be assigned to the Dauphin; and that the Archduke should receive only the Duchy of Milan for his share of the inheritance. Louis, who probably foresaw that Spain would reject this division of her empire, and confided in the intrigues of his ambassador at Madrid, acceded to the proposal; but the Emperor Leopold refused to accept so small a portion of an empire of which he considered the whole succession as secure to his family.

The partition treaty was no sooner made known at Madrid, than it excited the utmost indignation. The people were exasperated at the idea of seeing the Spanish monarchy dismembered, and their allegiance transferred by the dictates of foreign policy; and the King, resenting the insult that had been offered him by this arrogant distribution of his dominions, determined, by a formal testament, to preserve them entire. Friendship or policy might have induced him to declare the Emperor, or the Emperor's son, his successor, through gratitude to Leopold for having refused to accede to the treaty of

partition, or in consideration of the power of that Prince to support his pretensions. The motives that influenced him on this occasion are involved in obscurity ; but Louis and Leopold were equally disappointed by the testament of Charles, which pronounced the Electoral Prince of Bavaria the heir to the crown of Spain.

The death of this Prince, which happened soon after he was called to a splendid and certain succession, renewed the intrigues of the neighbouring powers : and a second treaty was concluded between the Kings of England and France, which, on the demise of Charles, assigned to the Archduke, Spain and her American dominions ; the Milanese to the Duke of Lorain, who, in return, was to relinquish his own Duchy to France ; and all the rest of the Spanish dominions were to be the portion of the Dauphin. This treaty, though highly advantageous to the House of Austria, was, for reasons unknown, rejected by the Emperor ; and indeed the whole of his conduct seems difficult to explain. It is said that Charles had, at one moment, resolved to bequeath his sceptre to the Archduke, and had requested Leopold to send that Prince to Madrid, with a body of ten thousand troops to support his interests. If such a proposal was actually made, the non-compliance of the Emperor must be placed among those political mysteries which history cannot develope.

While the House of Austria thus neglected its interests, or was lulled into a careless security, in regard to the Spanish succession, the French faction began to gain the ascendancy at Madrid. The Archduke is said to have frequently ridiculed the manners and etiquette of that court, and his imprudence was imitated by his favourites. Their sarcasms were, by the agents of France, diligently transmitted to Spain, and severely retorted by a people jealous of its honour. The observation of the Bishop of Lerida, that the understandings of the ministers of Leopold were, like the horns of the goats in some parts of Spain, "little, stubborn, and crooked," was rapidly circulated and universally applauded; and the Austrian cause became every day more unpopular. In the mean while the Cardinal of Portocarrero was indefatigable in promoting the interests of the House of Bourbon. That able and intriguing prelate incessantly represented to his sovereign, that by adopting a younger son of France, he might prevent the dismemberment of the kingdom without violating the spirit of the renunciations made by the mother and wife of Louis. The sole object of these was to prevent the union of the two crowns of France and Spain, and this end, he observed, would be obtained by naming the Duke of Anjou instead of the Dauphin for his successor.

Voltaire, in his history of Louis XIV. compares the situation of Charles to that of a rich old man without issue, whose death-bed is besieged by his relations and his dependents, all eager to extort from him some valuable legacy. The King of Spain is generally supposed to have had a predilection for the Austrian branch of his family; but his bed was vigilantly beset by the partisans of France: and the Cardinal of Portocarrero, in order to fix his wavering resolution, pressed him to consult the Roman Pontiff, who was to be considered as the common father of the rival claimants, and whose decision ought to be respected as that of heaven. The monarch was vanquished by affected sanctity of his counsellor: the question was referred to the Pope, and the answer of his Holiness, which in all probability had been concerted with the Cardinal, determined the matter in favour of the House of Bourbon. Charles, with a trembling hand, signed the will that bequeathed the crown of Spain to the Duke of Anjou, and appointed the Cardinal of Portocarrero Regent, soon after which he expired in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. The weakness of his faculties rendered him the tool of the different factions that divided his court. In the history of his times his own name seldom appears,

except when it was used to proclaim the will of his ministers. The long train of public calamities, which, during that period, pressed on the grandeur of Spain, however, are not to be attributed solely to his administration: long before his accession they had taken too deep a root to be eradicated, except by such an union of prudence and vigour as history can seldom discover in the conduct of human government.

Through every period from the reign of Philip II. to the death of Charles II. the errors of the government, and the decline of the nation are sufficiently apparent, and have been noticed in different parts of this history. It may not here be amiss to delineate a more general picture, and to bring into a concentrated view the moral causes which have so strongly militated against the prosperity of a country blessed with the greatest physical advantages, and extinguished the energy of a nation naturally one of the most enterprising in Europe.

The state of Spain, under the Romans, has already been described: the degeneracy of the martial Goths has also been noticed; and the arts, the science, and opulence of the Arabians fill some of the most splendid pages of Spanish history. But it is chiefly requisite to point out,

in a general view, the effects which political circumstances have produced on the monarchy of modern Spain.

The contest between the Christian and the Mahomedan power in Spain, the longest and the most bloody of all those recorded in the history of nations, must have greatly depopulated the country. During the space of nearly eight hundred years, the hostile banners of Christ and Mahomed had been displayed in every city, town, and village: every district had exhibited scenes of rapine: every plain had been a field of battle, and every mountain had served as a place of retreat to the fugitives who escaped from slaughter or slavery. Those wars, stimulated by religious and national enmity, were carried on with the most desolating ferocity: the country not only was pillaged but the crops were destroyed: the fruit trees were frequently cut down, and the vines torn up by the roots. Amidst such scenes of devastation, so often repeated, agriculture must have been greatly neglected, and population impeded. In addition to the calamities caused by war, the disastrous effects of a natural scourge were aggravated by a political error. The great plague, which, about the middle of the fourteenth century, so dreadfully depopulated a great part of the globe, produced

in Spain more pernicious consequences than in any other country of Europe. A vast proportion of the inhabitants being suddenly swept away, the survivors obtained possession of extensive shares of waste land.* The common pasture grounds of several villages and towns were united under the domain of one village or town. The grandees also obtained enormous grants of land, which, being secured in their families by rigid entails, formed vast hereditary scenes of desolation. This depopulation of the country, afforded to the wealthy proprietors of sheep flocks an opportunity of obtaining the celebrated code of laws known by the name of the *Mesta*. By this singular regulation, which subsists to this day, the proprietors of flocks acquired an undisputed right to drive them from the northern to the southern parts of Spain for winter pasture. On their way the sheep have the free use of all those extensive commons which lie in their road; and no inclosures can be made in the tracts through which they pass, without leaving an open space of ninety yards wide for their accommodation. This has ever been a great impediment to agriculture; and

* Brougham's Col. Pol. vol. 1. p. 406.

several of the most fertile parts of Spain present a dismal picture of its effects.*

The maxims of the Spanish government have been equally unfavourable to commerce. No sooner did the mines of Mexico and Peru begin to pour their wealth into Spain, than these extraordinary advantages were counteracted by the most impolitic regulations. In the middle ages the cities of Spain had, from a concurrence of causes, become larger and more opulent than those of any other European country, if we except the Netherlands, Italy, and the dominions of the Byzantine Emperor. In the year 1491, Barcelona was esteemed equal to Naples in extent and in the elegance of its buildings, and scarcely inferior to Florence in respect of manufactures and commerce.† Toledo was also a large and populous city: a great number of the citizens were persons of rank and opulence; and nearly ten thousand of the inhabitants were employed in the manufactures of silk and wool.‡ Cordova and Seville were scarcely inferior to Toledo. Valladolid was excelled by few cities

* Vide Brougham's Col. Policy, vol. 1. book 1. p. 406. &c. and the authorities there quoted.—Link's Trav. p. 122.—Semple's Trav. vol. 1. p. 58.

† Hieron. Paul. ap. Schot. Script. Hispan. 2. p. 344.

‡ Marin. ap. Script. Hispan. 2. p. 308.

in elegance and splendour, and in the year 1516 it could raise thirty thousand fighting men within its own territory.* In all these cities the Arabians had established flourishing manufactures, and the Christians, of whom great numbers lived among them, had learned their arts, and imitated their industry. The discovery and colonization of America might have opened a continually increasing market to the Spanish manufactures, and have carried them to an incalculable extent; but the monopoly of the colonial trade, granted to a few merchants of Seville, cast a damp on the rising industry of Spain.† These monopolists, in order to advance the prices in the American market, would export only a small quantity of Spanish goods, and the manufacturer could not vend his commodity.‡ The Spanish manufactures, thus discouraged, sunk into a state of neglect, and the spirit of industry which had been exerted in vain, soon began to subside. When the increased population of the colonies began to require greater

* Id. ap. Script. Hispan. 2. 312. Sandoz. Vic. de l'Emp. Charles V. tom. 1. p. 81.

† In the year 1545 as much work was bespoke from the manufacturers as they could expect to finish in six years. Campomanes tom. 1. p. 406. In Seville 16,000 looms were employed. Ibid, tom. 2. p. 472.

‡ Campom. tom. 1. p. 435.—2. p. 110.

supplies, Spain was no longer able to furnish the articles of trade. The merchants, therefore, had recourse to foreign nations : Spain thus lost the most substantial advantages that she could have derived from the discovery and conquest of America; and became only a channel through which the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru flowed rapidly into the neighbouring countries,* while the various restrictions on commerce increased the evil by giving rise to a system of smuggling, which was carried to an extent unknown before that period in any age or country.†

Religious bigotry concurred with commercial restrictions to overwhelm the prosperity of Spain, to extinguish her liberties, and establish political tyranny. The expulsion of the Jews and the Moors, the most industrious of the Spanish subjects, was a mortal blow to the agriculture and manufactures of the kingdom.‡

* Vide Campom. tom. 2. p. 138. Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. 2. p. 171.

† For the smuggling trade in Spanish America, vide Robertson's Hist. Amer. vol. p. 271. Voyage de Depons. chap. 8.

‡ It is impossible to ascertain the number of subjects lost to the Spanish monarchy by the expulsion of the Jews and Moors. Writers widely disagree in their estimates, but those who are the best informed and the most moderate in their statements, calculate them at between two and three millions; and these were the most industrious part of the people, the best agriculturists, and the most skilful artisans. The emigrations to America have, by most writers, been considered as one

The history of Spain, in every age, may be said to be written in letters of blood. The almost continual wars which, during the space of nearly ten centuries, convulsed the monarchy, must be placed among the principal causes of its depopulation and decline. So long as the Mahomedan sceptre was swayed over any part of Spain, those wars were consistent with the soundest policy: the security, the peace and prosperity of the Christian kingdoms, absolutely required the extinction of that hostile and formidable power. This great purpose being accomplished by Ferdinand, his successor, Charles V. raised the Spanish monarchy to the highest degree of external splendour. But the continual wars in which Charles engaged, exhausted its internal resources, and the martial Spaniards, whose valour was the chief support of his power, were incessantly drawn out to support the greatness of their monarch in quarrels totally foreign to the interests of their country. But the tyrann-

of the chief causes of the depopulation of Spain. So early as the year 1519, the opinion was current. In the debates on the election of the Emperor, the Archbishop of Treves, who opposed the pretensions of Charles V. used this argument, "Spain," says he, "is so wasted with continual failing, that it can send forth no great number of men." Sleid. Comment. book 1. fol. 43. Mr. Brougham, however, clearly shews that these emigrations could not greatly affect the population of Spain. Col. Pol. vol. 1. p. 383, &c.

nical reign of Philip II. and the revolt of the Netherlands, completed the train of causes which eventually occasioned the decline of the monarchy. From the reign of Ferdinand to the death of Philip IV. a succession of mad monarchs and ministers had regarded the people only as food for fire-arms, and as long as men and money could be raised, had been invariably averse to peace. By their ambition Spain was constantly involved in the labyrinth of foreign politics: her blood and her treasures were profusely lavished in the Netherlands, in Germany, in France and Italy; and a wide and wasting system of continual war ruined her commerce, exhausted her strength, and extinguished her liberties. From the contemplation of this gloomy picture, the eye is partially relieved in viewing a faint revival of the ancient glory of Spain, in consequence of the translation of her sceptre from the House of Austria to that of Bourbon.*

* The same causes which had prevented the political felicity of Spain had also been hostile to her literature. Notwithstanding, however, the restraints of the inquisition and all other obstacles, the genius of the Spaniards burst forth, and if their attainments in letters and the arts are not equal to those of some other nations, they are far from being contemptible. Spain has produced some excellent writers in various departments. Their poetry is excellent, and Lord Holland, in his *Life of the celebrated Lopez de la Vega*, has thrown considerable light on the literary history of Spain. The Spanish artists have highly distinguished themselves both in painting and sculpture.

CHAP. XI.

The Duke of Anjou takes possession of the throne of Spain by the name of Philip V.—Intrigues of the Austrian faction.—Conciliatory measures of the new King.—War between France and the Emperor.—Efforts of the Austrian faction in Spain.—Revolt of Naples.—Operations in Italy.—The French and Spanish fleets destroyed in the port of Vigo by the English.—A reform begun in the Spanish finances.—Dissentions in the councils.—The King of Portugal accedes to the league against the House of Bourbon.—The Archduke Charles arrives at Lisbon.—Philip makes a successful incursion into Portugal.—Battle of Hochstet.—Gibraltar taken by the English.—The Archduke lands in Spain and reduces Catalonia.—Is besieged in Barcelona.—Philip obliged to retreat to Madrid.—Is compelled to retire from Madrid.—Charles proclaimed King.—Battle of Ramillies.—Charles obliged to retire, and Philip re-enters Madrid.—Battle of Turin.—Revolt of Naples.—Successes of the Duke of Berwick.—Battle of Almanza.—Revolt of Sardinia.—Battle of Malplaquet.—Second retreat of Philip from Madrid.—Successes of Marechal Vendome.—Peace of Utrecht.—Reduction of the Catalans.

THE last dispositions of the deceased monarch had been involved in a profound secrecy by the intrigues of Cardinal Portocarrero ; and the imperial minister at the court of Madrid rested in full confidence that the Archduke Charles was

named the successor to the crown of Spain. But his eyes were soon opened to his mistake; and he was thunderstruck when the declaration of the council of state convinced him that the influence of Versailles had prevailed over that of Vienna. The French monarch affected an equal surprise, although it is difficult to believe that he had been kept in the same state of ignorance as the Emperor. At first he pretended to hesitate; but the result of his deliberations was, as might be expected, a determination to abide by the testament of Charles; and he endeavoured to justify the infraction of the treaty of partition by observing, that if he departed from the words he still adhered to its spirit, which was to preserve the tranquillity of Europe—an object which could not be attained by any division of the Spanish empire.

If the neighbouring Princes, who dreaded the increasing power of the House of Bourbon, were not convinced by the arguments of Louis, at least they found themselves under the necessity of submitting to his will. Leopold had exhausted his resources in long and bloody wars against France and the Ottoman Porte; and his weakness confined him to ineffectual remonstrances. The King of England, William III. mortified at seeing his favourite schemes overthrown, would have had immediate recourse to arms;

but the parliament was averse to his design ; and the people were unwilling to increase their debt, and sacrifice their commerce by engaging in a new war, of which they regarded the object as foreign to their interests.*

Louis, in the mean while, had numerous armies ready to support the claims of his grandson had they met with any opposition ; but the French faction at Madrid had made the way easy. The Cardinal of Portocarrero proclaimed the Duke of Anjou King of Spain A.D. 1701. by the name of Philip V. The new monarch immediately set out for Madrid to take possession of his throne : and his arrival was welcomed by the pleasing intelligence that the Spanish Netherlands, the Milanese, and the kingdom of Naples, acknowledged his authority. Thus after a series of profound and complicated intrigues, which had, during several years, occupied the cabinets of Madrid, Versailles, Vienna, London, and Rome, the crown of Spain was transferred from the House of Austria to that of Bourbon ; and while the Emperor was presenting memorials against the injustice of the measure, the Duke of Anjou ascended the throne.

But a formidable party, attached to the Austrian interest, existed at Madrid. The imperial

* Vide Smoll. Cont. of Hume's History of England, vol. 1. book 1. ch. 6.

ambassador, had formally protested against the validity of the testament of Charles II. The confessor of that Prince affirmed that the monarch, in his dying moments, declared it to have been extorted from him by the importunity of the French faction. His assertion was supported by the testimony of the Inquisitor General; and the Queen Dowager readily concurred in a scheme which aimed at re-establishing the Austrian influence. But the intrigue was broken by the vigorous measures of Cardinal Portocarrero, who, without hesitation, banished the confessor, expelled the Inquisitor General from the council, and instructed Philip to order the Queen to retire to the Escorial.

The new monarch, in the mean while, endeavoured to conciliate the affections of his subjects by his agreeable deportment and affable manners, by the exercise of mercy and the reform of abuses. He diminished the number of superfluous offices in the different departments, retrenched the appointments in his own household, and abolished a variety of sinecures which had been created during the preceding reigns.

The throne of Philip V. now seemed to be firmly established. By his marriage with the daughter of the Duke of Savoy, he flattered himself that he had secured the alliance of that Prince; and he had been formally acknowledged

by the courts of London and Lisbon, by the States of Holland and the Elector of Bavaria. But the restless ambition of Louis XIV. was productive of a series of calamities both to his own subjects and those of his grandson. He beheld the power and influence of the House of Bourbon extended from Antwerp to Gibraltar, from the Alps to Mount Etna, and over the most opulent regions of the western world; and his mind might well be elated at the boundless prospect. But in the acme of prosperity Louis could not rest satisfied; and his presumption matured the projects of Leopold. He prevailed on the Duke of Mantua to receive a French garrison; and the Emperor, who by that time had collected his forces, immediately flew to arms to maintain the independence of Italy. An hundred thousand soldiers, accustomed to triumph over the Turks, marched beneath the Imperial Eagles. The flower of this formidable army was placed under the command of Prince Eugene, who had displayed his martial genius in successive victories over the Ottomans, and was destined to humble the French and avenge the insults offered him in his native country.* At the head of thirty

* Prince Eugene was the son of the Count de Soissons. He aspired to military honours in his native country; but being refused the command of a regiment in France, he entered the imperial service, and proved a formidable adversary to Louis XIV.

thousand men, that celebrated general entered Italy, and, on the banks of the Oglio, where the slaughter of five thousand of the best troops of France attested his victory, he added fresh laurels to those which he had gained near the Teifs.

The success of the Imperialists in Italy revived the hopes of the Austrian faction in Spain. Novelty seldom fails to throw a lustre on the commencement of every reign, and the acclamations which welcomed Philip to Madrid might be traced to the disastrous administration of his predecessors. But the momentary impression was easily effaced; and the Castilian pride was deeply wounded by an imprudent decree, which imparted to the Peers of France the same rank and distinctions that were enjoyed by the Grantees of Spain. The disaffected nobles were numerous; among these was the Count of Melgar, Admiral of Castile, who had been esteemed one of the ablest ministers of Charles II. and who having been exiled from the court by Portocarrero, had, in enmity to that prelate, attached himself to the House of Austria, and, in a series of private correspondence, urged the Emperor to support, in arms, the claims of his family.

At this critical juncture an injudicious act of Louis XIV. matured the plans of his enemies. James, the exiled monarch of England, had

closed his life at St. Germain; and the King of France, although he had recognised the title of William, by the treaty of Ryswick, proclaimed the son of the deceased Prince by the name of James III. The people of England, who had hitherto been averse to the war, were provoked by the wanton insult, and joined in the indignation of their sovereign. William improved the moment of enthusiasm; and a triple alliance was secretly concluded between the cabinets of London, Vienna, and the Hague.

In Catalonia and Naples the influence of the Austrian faction already began to be felt: the former province was agitated by discontents, and ripe for revolt: in Naples a furious insurrection had already taken place; and the two opposite factions had engaged in the streets of that city with the most determined resolution; but the arrival of the Duke of Popoli, with a body of troops, established the superiority of the Bourbon party. The unsettled state of Naples induced Philip to visit his Italian dominions: after a short and prosperous voyage he arrived at Naples, where he liberally rewarded those who had been zealous for his cause, and granted an unconditional pardon to his enemies. At the same time he remitted the arrears of the taxes due to the crown, which amounted to an enormous sum. The Neapolitans were charmed

with the clemency and generosity of their sovereign, and presented him with a voluntary gift of seven hundred thousand ducats as a proof of their gratitude.

A. D. 1702. In Italy the events of the war were various and fluctuating. Mareschal Villeroy was surprised and made prisoner at Cremona; but the town was preserved, and Prince Eugene was compelled to retreat. Villeroy was succeeded in the command by the Duke de Vendosme, a bold, enterprising, and skilful general. At the battle of Luzara he displayed his military talents in his judicious dispositions; and Philip gave signal proofs of personal valour: the action was long and bloody, and both sides claimed the victory; but the advantages rested with the French, who soon after reduced Luzara and Gualtalla.

The league between the Empire, England, and the United Provinces, was completely formed; but William III. who had planned and vigorously promoted this grand alliance, was not permitted to witness its effects. Incessant agitation and toil had exhausted a constitution naturally weak and delicate: a fall from his horse accelerated the progress of disease, and he expired March 8. A. D. 1702. in the fifty-second year of his age, leaving behind him the reputation of being one of the greatest generals in Europe. His death

filled the allies with consternation ; but Anne, his successor, adopted his plans, and gave to the celebrated Marlborough the chief command of her forces that were destined to act in the Netherlands. Twelve thousand English troops, embarked on board the combined fleets of England and Holland, presented themselves before Cadiz ; but finding that city defended by a numerous garrison, and an intrepid governor, they determined to attack the French and Spanish fleet of twenty-three ships of war, and thirteen galleons, richly laden, and lying in the port of Vigo. As their cargoes constituted the chief resources of Philip for carrying on the war, every precaution had been taken for their safety. The entrance of the basin, in which they lay, was defended by two forts, and barred by a strong boom ; but these obstacles did not deter the confederates. The land forces attacked and carried the forts : the boom was broken by the fleet, and the assailants poured into the harbour. The French admiral, perceiving all resistance to be useless, set fire to his ship, and the galleons followed the desperate example. Ten ships of war were burned, seven were sunk, and six were taken : of the galleons, four were consumed by the flames, and nine fell into the hands of the conquerors. Although a great part of the treasure had been previously landed and conveyed

to Lago, the spoil, which was divided among the victors, amply rewarded their valour. The news of this event diffused terror through Madrid ; yet the Queen, amidst the general consternation, displayed a spirit worthy of the daughter of Victor Amadeus : she offered her jewels to sale ; and her magnanimity stimulated the exertions of several of the grandees. Cardinal Portocarrero raised and maintained, at his own expense, six squadrons of horse ; and the Bishop of Cordova levied and paid a regiment of foot.

In the mean while the intrigues of the Austrian faction excited discontents both in the capital and the provinces. The Count of Melgar, Admiral of Castile, had, with about three hundred adherents, retired to Lisbon, where he published a declaration, asserting the will of Charles II. to have been forged by Cardinal Portocarrero, and swore allegiance to the Archduke, whom he proclaimed by the name of Charles III. His example was immediately followed by the Duke of Moles and the Marquis of Corzena, both of whom openly declared for the House of Austria.

These instances of defection hastened the return of Philip from Italy, and his arrival at Madrid gave a check to the intrigues of the Austrian faction. But the distracted state of the kingdom required all the efforts of the ablest

politicians. Under the preceding reigns the finances had fallen into a state of confusion that appears incredible ; the cloud of tax-gathers had multiplied to such a degree that, if we may credit some writers of that age, they exceeded in number all the regular troops of Spain, and swallowed up all the revenue which they collected. The herculean task of reducing this chaos to order was committed to Monsieur Orri, a Frenchman, whose abilities were eminently adapted to such an employment. To a genius formed for calculations, he united an indefatigable diligence and quick penetration, together with an intrepidity and firmness, which could not be moved either by the menaces of the great or the murmurs of the multitude. He confirmed the King in his resolution of resuming the royal demesnes, which had been alienated by his predecessors : he assisted him in carrying to a greater extent the reforms in his household ; and, by diminishing the number of the collectors of taxes, he both relieved the people and increased the revenue of the crown. But the advantages to be derived from these reforms were distant ; and the necessities of the state were immediate and urgent. The allies were making preparations for the invasion of Spain ; and no ordinary resources being sufficient to place the kingdom in a proper state of defence, it was

resolved to seize part of the treasure, which, at Vigo, had been preserved from the confederates. Cardinal d'Estrees, who had lately been dispatched from Paris, suggested this measure : it was strenuously but ineffectually opposed by Cardinal Portocarrero, and by the Duke of Medina Cœli, who was president of the Council of the Indies, and who represented, in vain, the inconveniences that must arise from intercepting the remittances which belonged to the merchants who traded to America. These remonstrances, however, were disregarded : so flagrant an act of oppression increased the indignation of the malecontents, and the Duke of Medina Cœli gave in his resignation rather than sanction, with his name, the injustice of the government.

The court of Madrid was now divided into factions ; and every day widened the breach between the two Cardinals d'Estrees and Portocarrero. The former strenuously advised the introduction of a powerful French army as the only means of security to the kingdom ; the latter considered the measure as injurious to the honour of the nation, and entreated the King to rely on the fidelity and valour of his Spanish subjects ; but his counsel was rejected, and his influence began rapidly to decline. The spirit of cabal, which agitated the cabinet of Madrid, now seemed to have extended itself over Europe.

Negotiations were secretly carried on in the different courts, and their effects were soon discoverable. The Duke of Savoy, having obtained from the Emperor the promise of several strong towns, and of the rich tract of territory between the Po and the Tenaro, abandoned the cause of his son-in-law, and joined himself to the confederacy against the House of Bourbon; and the King of Portugal, allured by a similar hope of extending his dominions, entered into the war, and acknowledged the Archduke as sovereign of Spain. Yet amidst such a number of enemies, the power and prosperity of the House of Bourbon still continued unshaken. The successes of the war had hitherto been various and nearly balanced. In the Netherlands the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene had generally been victorious, and had reduced several strong places; but in Germany the imperial armies had been less fortunate: a decisive victory, gained by Mareschal Villars, in conjunction with the Elector of Bavaria, and another by Mareschal Tallard, together with the capture of Augsburg, had established the ascendancy of the French and laid the road open to Vienna.

A. D. 1704. The Archduke, in the mean while, had proceeded to Lisbon, depending on the influence and intrigues of the Admiral of

Castile, whose partisans were numerous in Spain; but the vigilance of Philip had detected the correspondence of that nobleman; and the most powerful of his adherents had been secured. Philip, in order to anticipate the attempts of his rival, made a bold and rapid incursion into Portugal, reduced the fortresses of Portalegre, ravaged the country along the banks of the Tagus, and carried five thousand prisoners back to Madrid. But this gleam of prosperity was soon obscured by a dark cloud of adversity. The danger of the Emperor had called the confederate forces into the heart of Germany, and the plains of Hochstet were rendered memorable by a signal victory gained by Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough over the French and Bavarians. Ten thousand of the best troops of France and Bavaria fell in the battle; thirteen thousand, with Mareschal Tallard, their commander, were made prisoners, and a hundred pieces of cannon were taken: the loss of the allies amounted to four thousand five hundred killed, and eight thousand wounded or taken.* This important action turned the scale of the war in Germany. The dominions of the Elector of Bavaria fell into the hands of the Emperor, and

* Smollet's Contin. of Hume's Hist. England, vol. 2. book 1. cap. 3.

the confederates, crossing the Rhine, carried their victorious arms into Alsace.

In Spain the affairs of the House of Bourbon were far from being in a prosperous state ; and the English made a conquest which they have ever since maintained. Four thousand English troops, under the command of the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, appeared before Gibraltar : the garrison, reposing in confidence on the natural strength of the place, had considered all precaution as superfluous ; and the neglect of their duty exposed them to a sudden surprise. A body of British seamen ascended the mole sword in hand : the garrison being unprepared for an attack which was totally unexpected, a fortress, which was deemed impregnable, surrendered on the first assault ; and Gibraltar has ever since remained an appendage to the British empire.

This important acquisition gave rise to considerable dissensions in the councils of the confederates. The Count of Melgar earnestly urged them to carry forward the war into Andalusia, asserting that the success of their arms in that quarter would ensure the submission of Madrid and the two Castiles, which drew from the southern provinces the greatest part of their subsistence ; but the plan was rejected by the Archduke, who was resolved to begin the conquest of Spain by the invasion of Catalonia.

Amidst the dangers which threatened the kingdom, the court of Madrid continued a theatre of intrigue. Cardinal Portocarrero, disgusted at beholding the decline of his influence, resigned his office of minister, Cardinal d'Estrees was recalled to France, and the Duke of Grammont aspired to govern Spain with the same absolute authority as Richelieu and Mazarine had exercised in France. His ascendancy, however, was of short duration: at his instigation the Duke of Berwick, the natural son of King James II. of England, was deprived of the command of the army, and Mareschal Tefse was appointed his successor. A vain attempt to recover Gibraltar involved the Spanish army in destruction and the new general in disgrace; and this disaster proved fatal to the power and influence of the minister. In those frequent changes the Spaniards could not observe, without indignation, that they alone seemed to be excluded from the confidence of their sovereign, and that Frenchmen filled the highest offices of honour and trust. The nobles excited discontents among the people: disaffection extended from the capital to the provinces; and the spirit of revolt became daily more prevalent.

A. D. 1705. While defeat and disease consumed the army of Spain before the rock of Gibraltar, her enemies were employed in active

preparations. The Portuguese entered Estramadura, and reduced the cities of Salvatiera, Albuquerque, and Alcantara. The Archduke, accompanied by the Earl of Peterborough, and the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, embarked with twelve thousand men on board the combined fleets of England and Holland at Lisbon. A part of these forces were disembarked on the coast of Valencia: in their march they proclaimed Charles III. and promised to those who should embrace his party a general remission of taxes: numbers joined their standard: they were received into Tortosa and Lerida, and advanced to Barcelona, where they were joined by the Archduke, with the rest of the troops. The confederates formed the siege of that city by land, while the fleet blockaded the harbour. The garrison was weak, and the inhabitants were disaffected; but the Duke of Popoli, having thrown himself into the place, excited the adherents of Philip to a vigorous defence. In several attacks the allies were repulsed: the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt was killed in the attack of the fort of Montjoi; and a bomb, at the same time, set fire to one of the principal magazines, which blew up with a tremendous explosion. The fort, however, was carried, and the governor proposed to capitulate. On this occasion the Earl of Peterborough exhibited an honourable instance of magnanimity

as well as of military authority. While the governor was treating with the English general, he heard the tumultuous shouts of the enemy, who had broke into the city, and exclaimed "You have betrayed us, and your troops, in the moment of confidence, have surprised the city." Peterborough assured him that it was the troops of the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, and convinced him that there remained only one expedient for saving the town from destruction. "Permit me," said he, "to enter freely with the English : I will restore the public security, and return to conclude the capitulation." It would have been to no purpose to question his sincerity. He was immediately admitted with his troops, and, hastening through the streets, where the Germans were plundering the houses of the opulent citizens, he drove them from their prey, and compelled them to restore even the booty which they had seized. Having re-established the tranquillity of the city, he returned to the gate and signed the capitulation, while the Spaniards paid the just tribute of applause and admiration to his honour and generosity.

The death of the Emperor Leopold had not abated the ardour of the confederates ; for his son Joseph had succeeded to his designs as well as his throne. The critical state of affairs in

Spain occasioned the recal of the Duke of Berwick to retrieve the misfortunes which he had not been permitted to prevent. He was appointed to watch the motions and check the progress of the Portuguese ; while Philip, in person, at the head of twenty thousand veterans, advanced into Catalonia. The Archduke, being unable to keep the field, had shut himself up in Barcelona, where he was closely besieged by Philip, while a French fleet blockaded the harbour. The siege was prosecuted with incessant vigour, and the defence was conducted with desperate obstinacy. The standard of Philip was already displayed from the fort of Montjoi, when the combined fleets of England and Holland made their appearance, and obliged the French to abandon the naval blockade. Philip was in consequence obliged to relinquish the enterprize, which he hoped to have crowned by the capture of his rival. His retreat was a scene of precipitate confusion, and the sick and wounded were left to the mercy of the Earl of Peterborough, who closely pressed on his rear. Suspecting the fidelity of the Aragonese he crossed the Pyrenees and retired to Perpignan ; but in his adversity Philip displayed an invincible fortitude. Being advised by Marshal Tessé to proceed to Versailles, and confer

with Louis, he firmly replied that he would never again visit Paris, but that he would either reign or perish in Spain.

Having left the wretched remnant of his army to the conduct of Marechal Tefse, Philip, with a small retinue, traversed Navarre and Old Castile, and, not without difficulty, reached Madrid, where his presence was necessary to calm the distractions occasioned by the intelligence of his disastrous retreat, and to establish the ascendancy of the Bourbon party, which was ready to sink under the pressure of misfortune and the influence of Austria. All Spain was distracted by the pretensions and the arms of two rival sovereigns : while at Madrid the adherents of Charles were proclaimed traitors, at Barcelona the edicts of Philip were burned by the hands of the public executioner. Even in his capital Philip had scarcely time to repose. His retreat from before Barcelona had encouraged the allies to make the most vigorous exertions : an army of English and Portuguese, under the Earl of Galway and the Marquis de los Minos, reduced the towns of Ciudad, Rodrigo, and Salamanca, from whence the road lay open to Madrid. The Duke of Berwick had been compelled to retreat before the invaders ; and Philip, being informed of their approach, reluctantly abandoned the capital, and, with a small but faithful body of

troops, retired to Burgos. Within ten days after his departure, the English and Portuguese entered Madrid, where the Archduke Charles was proclaimed King of Spain. But the splendid ceremony was of no real advantage to his interests: the inhabitants beheld, with indignation, the banners of England and Portugal triumphantly displayed through their streets, and their former prepossessions in favour of the House of Austria were lost in their detestation of her allies. Charles, in the mean while, was occupied in the reduction of Arragon and Valencia; but he was no sooner received into Saragossa, than he advanced to Madrid in order to check, by his presence, the disaffection of the capital.

In the different parts of the extensive theatre of war, the misfortunes of the House of Bourbon were rapidly multiplied. At Ramilies the French army, under Mareschal Villeroy, was totally defeated by the Duke of Marlborough: the loss, as is generally the case, has been variously reported; but it is generally asserted that on the side of the French it amounted to eight thousand killed and wounded, and six thousand made prisoners.* But the importance of the victory of Ramilies may be the most accurately estimated

* Smoll. Cont. Hume. vol. 2. book 1. chap. 9.

by its consequences. Louvain, Bruffels, Antwerp, and Ghent, opened their gates to the conquerors : Ostend resisted only ten days : Menin surrendered after a siege of six weeks ; and before the end of the campaign, Ath and Dendermonde submitted to the arms of the confederates.

In Spain the affairs of Philip were equally unprosperous : repeated losses contracted the sphere of his authority, and immediate danger menaced his throne. Toledo had submitted to Charles, Alicant had surrendered to his arms, the Count of Santa Cruz had delivered Carthage, with the small remnant of the Spanish navy, to the allies. Philip, being confined within the narrow limits of Old Castile with a force of less than ten thousand men, his cause appeared desperate ; and Mareschal Vauban was so fully persuaded that his affairs were irretrievable, that he advised him to embark for America with his adherents.

In this critical juncture it was only to the abilities of the Duke of Berwick and the mismanagement of his enemies that Philip owed the preservation of his crown. The luxury and indolence, in which they had lived at Madrid, proved not less fatal to the English and Portuguese than the indulgencies of Capua had once been to the army of Hannibal. The Earl of

Galway and the Marquis de los Minos had, during their residence in the capital of Spain, lost one third of their men by riot and excess. Their subsistence had been intercepted by the Duke of Berwick ; and they were obliged to retire on the approach of that general, who had received strong reinforcements. Philip, after an absence of three months, re-entered his capital ; and the first moments of his return were devoted to the suppression of the Austrian party. The Duke of Infantado, the Patriarch of the Indies, the Count of Lemos, and several others, were arrested and imprisoned : the Duke of Najeta, the Counts of Oropesa, Haro, and Galvez, had accompanied the confederates in their retreat ; but their estates were confiscated ; and the exhausted treasury of Philip was replenished with their spoils.

The return of Philip to his capital was followed by the recovery of Alcantara and Carthagena ; but these successes were balanced by the loss of the islands of Majorca and Ivica ; while in Italy a still more dangerous wound was inflicted on the glory and interests of the House of Bourbon. By repeated defeats the Duke of Vendosme had broken the strength of Victor Amadeus, and had invested his capital. But Vendosme having been recalled to repair the errors of Villeroy in Flanders, the conduct of the siege of Turin had

devolved on Mareſchal Feuillade, and the Duke of Orleans, with Mareſchal Marſin, commanded the covering army. The city was reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, when Prince Eugene, after a long and painful march, having effected a junction with the Duke of Savoy at Aſti, preſſed forward to its relief. The entrenchments of the beſiegers were forced : Mareſchal Marſin was killed : the Duke of Orleans was wounded : the ſhattered remains of their army made a precipitate retreat ; and by the event of that deciſive day, Milan, Mantua, and Piedmont, were wreſted from the Houſe of Bourbon.

A. D. 1707. The effects of the battle of Turin extended even to Naples. The Princes of Avellino, Montefareo, and Bariati, and the Duke of Montaleon, who were ſecretly attached to the Auſtrian intereſt, had artfully inflamed the Neapolitans by a rumour that Philip had agreed to cede Naples to France. The Duke of Eſcalona, the Viceroy, in order to appeaſe the general indignation, thought it expedient to diſmiſs the French troops ; but their departure was the ſignal of action to the conſpirators ; an Auſtrian army approached the city to ſecond their deſigns : the citizens threw open their gates, and renounced their allegiance to Philip, and, in a ſhort time, the example of the capital was followed by the whole kingdom.

In Gaieta the Duke of Escalona sustained a vigorous siege; but the place was taken by assault, and the Viceroy was dragged as a prisoner to Naples.

In Germany, Mareschal Villars pressed the Imperialists, and penetrated from the Rhine to the Danube. In Spain the Duke of Berwick displayed all the talents of a skilful commander; and his efforts were crowned with signal success. The decisive victory which he gained over the combined army of England and Portugal, commanded by the Earl of Galway, contributed to decide the fate of Spain. The loss of this memorable battle was attributed to the cowardice or mismanagement of the Portuguese; but the victory may be more justly ascribed to the superior skill of the Duke of Berwick, and the desperate valour of the Spanish cavalry. Five thousand of the confederates were killed, and near ten thousand made prisoners: all their artillery and baggage, with a hundred and twenty standards, fell into the hands of the victors, and the Earl of Galway, dangerously wounded, escaped with difficulty, and took shelter in Tortosa.*

* A considerable body of Portuguese cavalry being broken at the first charge and put to flight, the greatest part of the army was obliged to lay down their arms and surrender. But the Portuguese general, the Marquis de las Minos, distinguished himself by his valour, and was

The Duke of Orleans, who assumed the command of the army the day after the battle of Almanza, improved the advantages which the genius and fortune of Berwick had gained: he reduced the city of Valentia, and recovered the whole province: he entered Saragossa with little opposition, and, in eleven days, made himself master of Lerida, which had baffled the efforts of the greatest commanders. While the Duke of Orleans was pursuing his triumphant career in Spain, Prince Eugene had subjugated almost all Italy, and invaded France. In conjunction with the Duke of Savoy, he advanced along the coast of Provence, and laid siege to Toulon; but on this occasion his usual good fortune forsook him, and he found himself obliged to make a precipitate retreat like Charles V. who in 1536 miscarried in a similar attempt.*

But the reviving prosperity of the House of Bourbon was clouded by the revolt of Sardinia: and the pride of the Castilians was wounded by the loss of Oran on the African coast: that fortress, which had remained to Spain a monu-

severely wounded, after seeing his favourite concubine killed in fighting by his side, in the habit of an Amazon. The allied army, which consisted of only 16,000 men, was almost annihilated. Smoll. Cont. Hume. vol. 2. book 1. chap. 9.

* M. Le Pref. Henault remarks that all the invasions of France, by the Austrian armies from Italy, have proved unsuccessful. Vide Hen. ad An. 1707.

ment of the enterprising genius of Cardinal Ximenes, was wrested from her by the Emperor of Morocco. But Mareschal Villars reduced several strong places in Italy : Tortosa was taken by the Duke of Orleans, and Alicant by General Asfeldt. In Flanders the campaign had been opened by Mareschal Vendosme with very important advantages. The inhabitants of Ghent and Bruges, corrupted by the gold of Louis, had received his troops; but on the banks of the Scheldt, near Oudenarde, the French were defeated by Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough.* Lisle, though fortified by the consummate skill of Vauban, and defended by Mareschal Boufflers, was, after a long and difficult siege, reduced by the confederates; and, before the close of the campaign, Ghent and Bruges were recovered.

A. D. 1709. A war of so long duration, and so widely extended, had exhausted the ample resources of Louis, and, in conjunction with an unfruitful season and a general scarcity, was become an intolerable burden to France: a series of defeats had dispirited the armies, and the nation was driven to despair by the prospect of famine. Louis, who had long been accustom-

* Henault says that the loss sustained by the French in their nocturnal retreat was greater than in the battle. Ibid.

ed to prosperity, reluctantly bowed beneath the pressure of so many calamities, and condescended to solicit a peace. A negotiation was opened at the Hague ; but although Louis offered to cede the whole Spanish monarchy to the House of Austria, to yield up to the Emperor all his conquests on the Upper Rhine, to give several strong towns as a barrier to Holland, to acknowledge the title of Queen Anne to the British throne, and to expel the Pretender from France, yet these concessions were thought insufficient ; and the confederates required that he should assist in expelling his grandson from Spain. The ignominious condition was indignantly rejected ; and the French monarch resolved to prosecute the war. But the House of Bourbon was perplexed by discord as well as discouraged by defeat. The Duke of Orleans, relying on the admiration which his valour and success had excited in Spain, is supposed to have aspired to the throne of that kingdom ; but the jarring narratives of different historians, who too often substitute conjecture for fact, have involved the whole affair in obscurity. It is certain, however, that the jealousy of Philip was awakened ; the Duke was obliged to leave Spain ; some of his agents, and several Spanish noblemen, suspected of being attached to his interest, were arrested.

These divisions and cabals, in the court of Madrid, summoned Cardinal Portocarrero from his retirement ; and the first advice of that celebrated statesman to Philip, was to dismiss the French from his councils. He accordingly raised to the office of prime minister the Duke of Medina Cœli, and appointed the Marquis of Bedmar secretary of state. By these popular measures the enthusiasm of the Spanish nation was revived ; the nobles declared themselves ready to make the most vigorous efforts ; and the wealthy ecclesiastics contributed largely to the support of the Prince whom they owed for their sovereign.

Cardinal Portocarrero had excited this honourable enthusiasm : but at the moment when Spain had the greatest need of his talents and services, he closed a life of turbulence and intrigue in the seventy-fifth year of his age. The torrent of adversity still pressed on the House of Bourbon : Mareschal Villars had been recalled from Italy to assume the command of the army in Flanders ; and in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet he fortified his camp with extraordinary skill and diligence. His object was to prevent Mons from falling into the hands of the confederates ; and it is said that on the ninth and tenth of September he possessed a superiority of numbers, and might

have attacked the enemy to an advantage ; but Monsieur le President Henault presumes that Villars was unwilling to expose an army which was the last resource of France.* On the 11th the allied troops from Tournay, which a few days before had surrendered to their arms, arrived at the camp. Eugene and Marlborough having, by this junction, acquired a considerable superiority of strength, attacked Villars in his fortified camp at Malplaquet. The victory was disputed with a degree of obstinacy seldom equalled in the most sanguinary operations of war.† Although the allies gained their point, it was a glorious day to the French. Eight thousand of them were left dead on the field ; but the loss of the confederates amounted to more than double the number. Mareschal Villars, being wounded, Mareschal Boufflers, who succeeded him in the command, effected his retreat with such consummate skill, that he left neither cannon nor prisoners behind.‡ The allies immediately besieged Mons, and the capture of that important place was the first fruits of the battle of Malplaquet.

* Abroge Chron An. 1709.

† "This was the bloodiest and longest action during the war." Hen. Ab. Chron. An. 1709.

‡ Hen. ubi supra.

A. D. 1710.

The ensuing campaign opened with events extremely unfavourable to the House of Bourbon. In Flanders the towns of Douai, St. Venant, Bethune, and Aire, were reduced by the confederates. Spain was still divided by faction and distracted by intrigue. The prime minister, the Duke of Medina Cœli, was convicted of high treason in having betrayed the secrets of the State, and frustrated the negotiations for a separate peace with Holland. He received sentence of death; but the clemency of his sovereign suffered him to expire in prison. While Philip was occupied in the detection of domestic treason, Charles and his allies were preparing, by vigorous efforts, to wrest the sceptre from his hand. The battles of Alamanasa and Saragossa, gained by the Archduke, whose inexperience was supplied by the skill of Count Stahremberg, plunged Philip into new misfortunes, from which the means of extrication were the more difficult, as Louis had need of all his troops to defend his own dominions. Charles had taken possession of Saragossa; and had he known how to pursue his advantages he might have eventually established himself on the throne of Spain. But instead of closely pursuing the vanquished army, he was induced by his courtiers to prefer the vanity of entering Madrid in triumph. Philip was a second time

Obliged to abandon the capital, and retired to Valladolid. The jealousy of France, which the Spanish grandees had entertained in the hour of prosperity, was forgotten in that of adversity: they joined their sovereign in soliciting Louis to send them the Duke of Vendosme; and the request was granted. With a small corps of cavalry that celebrated general crossed the Pyrennees; and the event shewed what wonders one great man may perform. Philip was nearly destitute both of troops and of money; but Vendosme found resources. His affability, frankness, and generosity, conciliated the esteem and affection of all classes of the people, he rekindled the enthusiasm of the Spaniards, and, in a short time, an army of thirty thousand men was collected. Most of them were raw and undisciplined, but they were inspired with confidence in the abilities of their commander; and Vendosme, without suffering their ardour to cool, directed his march towards Madrid. Philip again entered his capital, which Charles, in his turn, reluctantly abandoned and retired to Barcelona.

Neither the rigid season of winter, nor the blandishments of Madrid could induce Philip to consume much time in repose. In a long series of bloody warfare he had learnt the necessity of improving every moment; and he had scarcely received the congratulations of his subjects

before he quitted Madrid in order to pursue his advantages. In conjunction with the Duke of Vendosme, he passed the Tagus, and carried by assault the town of Brissuega, where five thousand British troops, under the command of General Stanhope, were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners. Count Stahremberg had rapidly advanced in the design of relieving the place, but was defeated near Villa Viciosa. In this important action, which, in a great measure, decided the fate of Spain, the right wing was led by Philip in person, the left was commanded by the Duke de Vendosme: the resistance of the allies was gallant but ineffectual: they were defeated with the loss of more than six thousand men; but Count Stahremberg made a skilful retreat. After this victory Philip entered Saragossa in triumph, and the progress of his arms was rapid and uninterrupted.

In the course of this year the French monarch renewed his overtures for peace, and a congress was held at Gertrudenburg. But on the side of the confederates, the conduct of the negotiations was chiefly committed to Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, the very men who were the most interested in the continuance of hostilities. War was with them a gainful trade, from which they derived the highest honours and the most lucrative emoluments; and it was

therefore no wonder that such men threw impediments in the way of peace. The extravagant demands of the allies exhibited a memorable instance of the intrigues of ministers and generals, who reap a plentiful harvest from the blood and the treasures of the people. Louis, in order to put an end to the miseries of his kingdom, which was exhausted by war and famine, went so far as to offer a supply of money to enable the confederates to dethrone his grandson; but not satisfied with this concession, they insisted that he should join his armies to theirs for that purpose. The condition appears to have been proposed only that it might be rejected, and the sequel shows the pernicious consequences of confiding in men who form to themselves an interest distinct from that of the nation. In the

A. D. 1711. course of the next campaign, the successes of Philip continued without interruption. Gironne, after a vigorous defence, was taken by the Duke de Noailles; and the Province of Arragon was completely reduced by the Marquis d' Arpagon. In Flanders the French general, Montesquiou forced the strong post of Arleux, and gained a considerable advantage over the allies; but the Duke of Marlborough captured Bouchain, and closed, by that enterprise, his long and splendid career of military glory.

At the very moment when Louis was almost reduced to despair, the peace which he had sought to obtain by the most humiliating concessions, was facilitated by two events as favourable as they were unexpected. Those courtiers, who envied the Duke of Marlborough, represented to Queen Anne, that in order to serve the ambitious views of that general, the English bore the principal burden of a war from which they alone received no benefit. The war faction at the court of England immediately lost its influence : a new ministry was formed ; the relations of the Duke of Marlborough were dismissed from their employments : the power of that general was abridged, and a resolution was taken to divest him of the command of the army. About the same time the Emperor Joseph expired in the vigour of his age, and his brother, the Archduke Charles, the competitor with Philip for Spain, ascended the imperial throne. The dread of the union of the sceptres of France and Spain, in one hand, had kindled the flames of war in Europe ; and the confederates could not fail of regarding, with similar jealousy, the annexation of the Spanish monarchy to the imperial crown and the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria. These considerations made a deep impression on the Queen of England, who resolved to relieve her subjects from a bloody

and expensive war, and to quit the confederacy if her allies should prove obstinate. Her Majesty, however, was not inattentive to the primary object of the war. To Philip she proposed the alternative either to renounce all claims to the crown of France, or to resign Spain and her dependencies to the Duke of Savoy, and with the dominions of that Prince to retain his hopes of ascending, at some future period, to the throne of his grandfather. Philip did not long hesitate in making his choice; impatient to secure his sceptre by relinquishing a distant and doubtful pretension, he renounced, in the most express terms, all claim to the French succession; in consequence of which he was acknowledged King of Spain by England and Holland, and his ambassadors were formally recognised at the congress of Utrecht.

At the court of Vienna, however, the war faction continued to predominate; and Prince Eugene came to London for the purpose of putting a stop to the negotiations. He was received at court with the honours due to so distinguished a personage; but his arguments and his intrigues effected no change in the British counsels, which were decidedly for peace.

A. D. 1712. In the mean while the Duke of Marlborough was dismissed from all

his employments, and the Duke of Ormond was placed at the head of the army. But the new general was not allowed to prove how far he was capable of supplying the place of his predecessor. The congress at Utrecht had brought the negotiations nearly to a conclusion. A suspension of arms was concluded between France and England, and the Duke of Ormond withdrew his troops from the confederate army. This defection rendered Prince Eugene greatly inferior in strength to his adversaries, and consequently incapable of carrying on the war to advantage. In Spain the hostile operations produced nothing remarkable except the siege of Gironne, which the allies were obliged to abandon, after having consumed not less than eight months before the walls of that fortress.

In the course of the following year A. D. 1713. the congress of Utrecht completed its labours. Great Britain, Holland, Prussia, Portugal, and Savoy, signed separate treaties of peace with the Kings of France and Spain: Philip confirmed his former renunciations of the crown of France for himself and for his descendants; and the Dukes of Orleans and Berry relinquished their pretensions to the succession of Spain. All the towns, which both France and Spain possessed in the Netherlands at the peace of Ryswick, were surrendered into the hands of the

United States, in trust for the House of Austria. Louis and Philip guaranteed the succession to the crown of England according to the existing establishment; and Gibraltar and Minorca were finally ceded to Great Britain. To the Duke of Savoy, his father-in-law, Philip ceded the island of Sicily, with the title of King; and in exchange for the valley of Barcelonetta and its dependencies, the Duke obtained the restitution of Savoy, the County of Nice, and the country along the foot of the Alps towards Piedmont. Spain and Portugal mutually restored their conquests, and the former limits of the two kingdoms were re-established. Charles now became Emperor, having left his consort at Barcelona, and being desirous of withdrawing his forces from that city to reinforce the army of Prince Eugene, subscribed a convention which stipulated the evacuation of Catalonia and the neutrality of Italy; but in Germany the war still continued between the Houses of Austria and Bourbon, although Spain scarcely took any part in the contest.*

Thus ended this long, sanguinary, and complicated war which, in spite of the efforts of so

* Such of the articles of the treaty of Utrecht as have no relation to Spain are here omitted. The subsequent successes of Marechal Villars compelled the Emperor to consent to a treaty, and peace was concluded at Rastadt between the Houses of Bourbon and Austria, on the 6th of March, 1714.

potent a confederacy, transferred the crown of Spain from the House of Austria to that of Bourbon. The causes which chiefly contributed to the ill success of the allies were the preposterous system of carrying on the war, and their obstinacy in refusing to listen to a peace. Through the influence of the Marlborough party, at London, the blood and the treasures of England were profusely poured into Flanders and Germany, where the Duke gained splendid but unavailing victories, while Spain, the grand object of the war, was neglected, and the British generals in that kingdom were confined to scanty supplies. Had only half of the forces, employed in Flanders, been sent into Spain, the House of Bourbon would have been for ever excluded from that throne.

The kingdom of Philip V. however, was not yet restored to tranquillity. A spark of that conflagration, which had so lately blazed throughout Spain, still subsisted in Catalonia. The bold and hardy natives of that province continued in a state of revolt: the last assurances of Count Stahremberg had taught them to aspire to the re-establishment of their ancient privileges; but they soon discovered how vain was their reliance on the promises of the Emperor. They implored the protection of England, but Queen Anne was deaf to their solicitations. Of all the

Princes who had so lately engaged with alacrity in war to preserve, undiminished, the lustre of their crowns, not one could be moved by the cries of a people struggling in defence of their liberties; and even the powers who had recently encouraged their revolt, branded them with the opprobrious names of rebels and traitors.

Before the Catalans could take the proper measures for defence, the armies of Philip entered the province, and their route was marked by slaughter and devastation; yet the courage of the Catalans was unbroken. They were obliged to abandon the open country; but the standard of freedom was erected on the walls of Barcelona, which forty thousand armed citizens, with sixteen thousand hardy peasants and veteran soldiers, resolved to defend to the last extremity. The peace of Rastadt, concluded with the Emperor, had left the King of France at liberty to assist his grandson; and the Duke of Berwick was sent with fifty battalions of French to join the forces of Philip, which were far from inconsiderable. Fifty squadrons of horse ravaged the open country, twenty veteran regiments formed the siege of Barcelona, eighty-seven pieces of heavy artillery thundered against the walls of the city, and a French fleet blockaded the harbour.

The Catalans, however, were not to be influenced either by offers of pardon or dread of punishment; nor could they be induced to surrender on any other terms than the restoration of their ancient privileges, a condition which was absolutely refused by the court of Madrid. Although the Duke of Berwick had received positive orders to prosecute the siege with vigour, he judged it imprudent to risk an attack on the strong fortrefs of Montjoi; but after the batteries had been opened near a month, a breach was made in the bastion of St. Clara, and a lodgement was effected. The assailants, however, were, in their turn, attacked with irresistible impetuosity, and driven from their post with the loss of a thousand men. This disaster, and the desperate valour which the besieged displayed, determined the Duke of Berwick to hazard no more partial attacks. He resolved to lay the place so completely level that he might enter as it were in a line of battle; and, with that steady patience and perseverance which marked his character, he at length accomplished his purpose. During the space of sixty-one days the batteries thundered incessantly on the place, and no less than seven breaches were made. The Duke, for the last time, summoned the town to surrender; but such was the inflexible resolu-

tion of the citizens that, although their provisions were nearly exhausted, and no prospect of receiving either supplies or assistance remained, they hung out the flag of defiance, and refused to listen to any terms of capitulation. On the 11th of September the general assault was given, and resisted with equal impetuosity. Even the priests and the monks rushed to the breaches and fought with the most desperate enthusiasm. But the struggle was too unequal to be attended with success : every part of the city was a field of battle : the inhabitants were driven from street to street, from the old town into the new, where they rallied again with undaunted courage and ardour. It was not till after incredible numbers had fallen that, on the following day, the survivors, worn out by hunger, thirst, and fatigue, demanded a parley.* The only conditions which they could obtain was protection from massacre and pillage. Since that time, Barcelona has always been awed by a strong garrison ; but the court of Madrid, after having so often experienced the turbulent spirit and dauntless resolution of the inhabitants, has been careful not to drive them to despair, and, under

* Barcelona surrendered on the 12th of September, 1714. Hen. Ab. Chron. Ad. An.

the Kings of the House of Bourbon, Catalonia has been free from many of the oppressive restrictions which have prevailed in the other provinces of Spain.*

* Vide Townsend's Travels, vol. 2. p. 61, 227, 284.—Swinburn's Travels, p. 268, 424.—Bourgoing Tableau de L'Espagne, moderne. tom. 1. p. 89—2. p. 276—3. p. 268.

CHAP. XII.

Intrigues of the court of Madrid.—Character of M. Orrí, comptroller of the finances.—His reforms.—Origin, elevation, and character of Julius Alberoni.—Vast projects of Alberoni.—Disappointment of his designs.—Quadruple alliance of the courts of London, Versailles, Vienna, and the Hague.—War in consequence of that alliance.—Disgrace of Alberoni.—His subsequent adventures.—Restoration of peace.—Successful expedition against the Moors.—Description of St. Ildefonso.—Philip resigns the crown to his son Louis.—Death of Louis.—Philip resumes the sceptre.—Elevation and singular vicissitudes of the Duke de Riparda.—Short war between Spain and England.—Successful expedition against the Moors.—League of the courts of Madrid, Versailles, and Turin, against the Emperor.—The Spaniards defeat the Imperialists at Bitonto, and conquer Naples and Sicily.—Peace concluded.—Don Carlos acknowledged King of the two Sicilies.—War between Spain and England.—The English destroy Porto Bello.—Their unsuccessful expedition against Carthagená.—Confederacy against the Queen of Bohemia and Hungary.—The Spaniards invade Italy.—Are defeated at St. Lazaro.—Death of Philip V.—His character.—Effects of his reign.

THE throne of Philip V. was now securely established, and the whole kingdom reduced to submission; but his court was a scene of intrigue and cabal. Death had deprived him of his consort, who had expired at the age of twenty-five,

at the moment when the peace of Utrecht promised her the enjoyment of public and private felicity. The nation paid to her memory the just tribute of unfeigned regret; and the King was inconsolable: the sight of the Escorial continually renewed his grief: he withdrew with his children to the palace of Medina Cœli, and abandoned the affairs of the kingdom to his ministers. The Princess of Urfino, the favourite of the deceased Queen, was almost the only person admitted to his presence; and in this situation she gained so great an ascendancy that she was supposed to raise her expectations to the throne. Her interest recalled M. Orri a second time to the administration of the finances. In that department his genius stood unrivalled: his efforts were astonishing; and the effects of his management were soon seen in the revenue, and in the marine and military establishments. But his extensive views exposed him to the obliquy of those for whose benefit they were calculated. He wished to change the habits and customs of the Spaniards, and to convert a whole nation from indolence to activity. The design was magnificent in theory, but he experienced its difficulty in practice: the grandees were dissatisfied with his regulations, which laid them under various restrictions: they were joined in their resentment by the clergy and the inqui-

sition, whose power he had ventured to attack ; and the multitude, who were to derive the greatest benefit from his reforms, united in the general cry of discontent, and condemned those plans which militated against the customs of their ancestors. The enemies of the minister and the favourite were rapidly multiplied ; and the fortunes of Orri and his protectress, the Princess of Ursino, sunk beneath the influence of a new candidate for power.

Julius Alberoni was a native of the Duchy of Placentia or Placenza in Italy, at that time constituting part of the Duchy of Parma. His origin was mean and obscure : his parents derived a scanty subsistence from husbandry, but they had interest sufficient to procure his admittance into the church. The young ecclesiastic commenced his career in the capacity of chaplain to an Italian nobleman. By his address he attracted the notice of the Duke of Vendosme, who attached him to his person. He soon gained the favour and confidence of his patron, and when Vendosme marched into Spain to prop the sinking fortunes of Philip, Alberoni continued at his side. His prospects were for a moment obscured by the sudden and premature death of the Duke ; and a less bold and skilful adventurer would have been overwhelmed by a calamity which appeared as great as it was unexpected.

But the genius of Alberoni was fertile in resources: he recommended himself to the favour of the Princess of Ursino. Through her influence he was named by the Duke of Parma his envoy to the court of Madrid, and by a successful train of intrigues, he brought about a marriage between Philip and Elizabeth Farnese, the daughter of that Prince, and heiress to the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany. His next step was to procure the dismissal of his patroness, the Princess of Ursino, and of her favourite, Orri; and this he effected by alarming the jealousy of the new Queen, by artful descriptions of the ascendancy and arrogance of the Princess, who was consequently ordered to retire from a country which she had ruled with an almost absolute sway. Orri, who was already obnoxious to the nation, was involved in the disgrace of his patroness; but the clamour which pursued him in prosperity subsided on his retreat from power. The public voice acknowledged his talents and his diligence, and the establishment of the royal academy of Madrid, for refining the Castilian language, is an honourable monument of his zeal for literature.

The petty intrigues of courts so frequently turn upon interests distinct from those of the state, that in general they scarcely merit a place in history. Sometimes, however, they tend to

bring forward an extraordinary character, or to produce an important change in public affairs. Such was the revolution which now took place in the Spanish cabinet. In receiving the title of Count, Alberoni reaped the first fruits of his successful schemes. On the dismissal of Orri he was raised to the administration ; and his natural activity was stimulated by the efforts of his predecessor. Under his auspices Spain began to take a new station in the political system : an army of a hundred thousand effective soldiers was commanded by able officers ; and a marine of seventy ships of war was created. Thus did an obscure Italian priest perform wonders in government : Spain acknowledged his genius, and all Europe soon had cause to dread his ambition.

The aspiring views of Julius Alberoni had never been restrained by the principles of his holy profession. By a pretended zeal for the Papal authority, he obtained from Clement II. the dignity of Cardinal ; and he had lulled the suspicions of the Emperor by his pacific professions ; but beneath this smooth surface all was hollow and deceitful ; and to re-establish in Italy the ascendancy of Spain was his favourite object.

A. D. 1716. The war in which the Emperor engaged, in support of the Venetians

against the Ottoman Porte, was favourable to the views of Alberoni, who observed with joy the kindling of a flame which would summon the armies of Austria to the distant frontier of Hungary. But the Spanish minister concealed his designs under an affected concern for the interests of christianity; and so well did he manage this system of duplicity, that he even dispatched a squadron to the relief of Corfu, and compelled the Ottoman fleet to retire from that island. By these arts he completely eluded the vigilance of the different powers of Europe; and obtained from Clement a bull, which empowered him to levy on the ecclesiastics of Spain a tenth of their income to carry on a war against the infidels. The money was raised, but its promised application was eluded; and the same pretence which had deceived the Pope, sanctioned the military preparations which were destined to a very different purpose.

The first disappointment that Alberoni experienced, arose from the pacific disposition of the Regent of France, who refused to join in his schemes. The splendid successes of the Imperialists, on the banks of the Danube, were not less unfavourable to his views: Prince Eugene had gained two decisive victories over the Turks: he had captured Belgrade; and compelled the Porte to conclude a treaty of peace at Passar-

owitz. These events, however, did not intimidate Alberoni, but rather seemed to stimulate him to new efforts. He multiplied his plans; and, extending his negotiations to the north, projected an alliance between Peter the Great of Russia, and Charles XII. King of Sweden, who so lately had been mortal enemies. These two monarchs were to invade Great Britain, and restore the family of Stuart. The Turks were, at the same time, solicited by the agents of Spain to resume the war against Austria; and Alberoni excited a conspiracy in France for the purpose of divesting the Duke of Orleans of the regency.

But the vast and complicated plans of this ambitious minister proved abortive: the invasion of Great Britain was prevented by the death of the King of Sweden, who was killed at the siege of Friedrichshal, in Norway; the Czar, in consequence of this event, abandoned the enterprise: the Turks were unwilling to engage in new wars: the conspiracy against the Regent of France was detected at the moment when it was ripe for execution; and, in order to counteract the designs of Alberoni, a quadruple alliance was formed between the courts of A.D. 1718.

London, Versailles, Vienna, and the Hague. But while the confederates were treating in their cabinets, Alberoni put the forces of

Spain into action. An armament, consisting of twelve ships of the line, and a hundred transports, with fifteen thousand veteran troops on board, under the command of the Marquis of Leyda, sailed from Barcelona, and took possession of the island of Sardinia. The immediate approach of winter, however, put a stop to warlike operations, and allowed time to the Emperor and his allies to recover from their surprise.

Early in the ensuing spring the Marquis of Leyda, who had achieved the conquest of Sardinia, proceeded to Sicily, and reduced Messina; but the scene was soon changed: fifty thousand Austrians were poured into Italy; and an English fleet of twenty sail of the line made its appearance in the Mediterranean. The English admiral, Byng, after having transported a considerable body of the Imperialists into Sicily, attacked, within sight of that island, the Spanish fleet, commanded by the Marquis of Castanaga. The Spanish admiral had a greater number of ships; but these having been originally built for trade, were in weight of metal and equipment inferior to those of the English. Out of twenty-seven vessels, of which his fleet was composed, twenty-one were taken or destroyed: six thousand of the Spaniards were killed or made prisoners, and the consequence of their defeat

was the expulsion of the Marquis of Leyda from Sicily.

The contest now became too unequal to afford any hope of success to Spain. The ascendancy of the confederates at sea had been established by the annihilation of the Spanish fleet under Admiral Gaetanaga. Vigo was attacked and plundered by the English, and a powerful French army commanded by the Duke of Berwick, who had fixed the sceptre of Spain in the hand of Philip, but now was employed to repress the ambition of his minister, reduced the strong fortresses of St. Sebastian and Fontarabia. But the disasters of the war reverted on the head of its author. The Duke of Parma, father of the Queen of Spain, wished to restore the tranquillity of Italy; but finding Alberoni inflexible, he represented to Philip the mischiefs with which Europe was menaced by the dangerous ascendancy of that turbulent Cardinal. The joint influence of the Queen and her father prevailed; and Alberoni received an order from the King to quit Madrid in eight days, and the territories of Spain within the space of three weeks. The blow was sudden; and the difficulties, of which it opened a prospect, might have overwhelmed with despair a mind less vigorous and bold; but the dauntless spirit of Alberoni was not formed to

A. D. 1719.

sink under the pressure of adversity. All Europe seemed combined against him, and when banished from Spain, he saw no place to which he could safely retire. In Germany he was hated; in France he was dreaded. The enmity of the Duke of Parma allowed him no hope of repose in his native country. England and Rome were equally barred against him: the King of Great Britain had every reason to be hostile to him, and the Pope, enraged at having been made the dupe of his artifice, pursued him with implacable animosity. The combination of so many great Princes against the son of an obscure peasant, as a modern author observes, evinces how much his genius and ambition were dreaded, and has been as favourable to the renown of Alberoni as it was prejudicial to his repose. Having obtained a passport to proceed through France into Italy, he was attacked near Gironne and one of his domestics was killed: he escaped on foot and in disguise from a band of assassins, employed by his personal enemies. For some time he wandered under a feigned name through different parts of Italy, and after a series of obscure adventures, fixed his residence at Genoa. In that city he was arrested at the solicitation of the Pope and the King of Spain; but the Genoese repenting of this breach of hospitality, restored him to freedom. The death

of Clement II. terminated the sufferings of Alberoni. Favoured by the protection of Innocent XIII. he repaired to Rome; and such was the influence of his genius, that in more than one election he wanted only a small number of votes to place him in the chair of St. Peter.

The removal of this turbulent minister calmed the tempest which had agitated Europe. Philip acceded to the terms of the quadruple alliance. Sicily was transferred to the House of Austria; and in exchange, the Duke of Savoy acquired Sardinia with the title of King of that island. The reversion of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, was promised to Don Carlos: the French evacuated the fortresses of St. Sebastian and Fontarabia, and after an unequal and unsuccessful contest Spain still retained her ancient limits.

Although the fall of Alberoni restored peace to Europe, it was far from giving satisfaction to the people of Spain. Their eyes had been dazzled by the splendour of his schemes, and many asserted that envy alone had banished from Spain the only minister whose genius could have restored the glory of the Empire. In order to silence the murmurs, and conciliate the esteem of the multitude, the new ministers prepared an expedition for the relief of the fortress of Ceuta, which, during the space of twenty-six

years, had been incessantly besieged by the infidels. Though upwards of a hundred thousand Moors had been sacrificed in the enterprize, the progress of the besiegers had been inconsiderable; and the martial band of Spaniards that garrisoned the place, derided all their efforts till the gold of the Emperor of Morocco allured, into his service, some English and French engineers. Under their direction, the disorderly attempts of the Moors were changed into regular approaches; and the gallant defenders of Ceuta began to despair of being able to make much longer resistance, when the Marquis of Leyda, who had distinguished himself in the reduction of Sardinia and the invasion of Sicily, was dispatched to their relief. About the middle of November, 1719, he sailed from Cadiz, and disembarked, on the coast of Africa, sixteen thousand veteran troops, whose courage had been tried, and whose discipline had been confirmed in long and bloody wars. The numerous but loose and tumultuous host of the Moors could not long resist their charge: abandoning, with precipitation, their camp and artillery, they sought shelter within the walls of Tetuan and Tangier; and the Marquis of Leyda, after repairing the fortifications, and reinforcing the garrison of Ceuta, returned to Spain.

D. 1726. The whole Spanish empire being now in perfect tranquillity, Philip resolved to deliver himself from the cares of royalty, and to resign his crown to his son. Educated in the ostentatious school of Louis XIV. he had been early instructed to prefer grandeur to ease, but, in the possession of a crown, he had experienced the fallacy of his choice. He had reigned twenty-four years, of which eighteen had been spent amidst bloody wars and tumultuous vicissitudes, scenes uncongenial to a mind naturally prone to quietness, solitude, and melancholy. Fanaticism mingled with indolence to imbitter the cup of royalty : he had no sooner secured the peace of his kingdom, than he trembled for the salvation of his soul ; and, in the sequestered shades of St. Ildefonso, he prayed and fasted with alternate and unbated fervour.

The cool and tranquil situation of St. Ildefonso on the northern side of the mountains of Guadarama, which divide it from the Escorial and the sultry plains of the south, had attracted the notice of Philip.* Here he fixed his residence :

* The palace of St. Ildefonso is about 15 miles to the N. E. of the Escorial, and about 32 miles almost N. W. from Madrid. It displays few architectural beauties ; but the gardens are embellished with excellent statues and superb waterworks. The upper part of the gardens and

under his auspices a delightful palace arose, and enormous sums were expended in embellishing its romantic environs. After some delay, interposed by the remonstrances of the Queen and the adjustment of family interests, Philip, in the

A. D. 1724. fortieth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign, resigned his crown to his eldest son, Louis, Prince of Asturias, in order to employ the remainder of his days in preparing for a spiritual kingdom.

The young monarch had completed his eighteenth year, and his dawning talents and virtues had inspired the Spaniards with flattering hopes. But his reign was too short to develope his character: in the first year of his accession he died of the small pox; and as his brother Ferdinand was scarcely eleven years of age, Philip reluctantly yielded to the entreaties of his nobles and his consort, seconded by the injunctions of his confessor, and resumed the sceptre of Spain.

Having quitted his slumbers at St. Ildefonso, to reign in the Escorial, the first care of Philip was to provide for the tranquil succession of his son Ferdinand, and for the establishment of his

pleasure grounds command a fine view of the country to the north, and of the city of Segovia, which is about nine miles distant. On the whole St. Ildefonso is well adapted to contemplative retirement, and forms a charming summer residence.

younger son Don Carlos by a treaty with the court of Vienna. Philip formally renounced all claim to Naples, Sicily, the Milanese, and the Netherlands: the Emperor relinquished his pretensions to Spain and the Indies; and confirmed to Don Carlos the investiture of Parma, Placentia and Tuscany, on the demise of the existing possessors.

These negotiations had been conducted by a new political adventurer, the Baron, afterwards the Duke de Riperda, the vicissitudes of whose life form a curious article of biography. He was a native of the United Netherlands, and had been dispatched as envoy extraordinary from the Hague to the court of Madrid. Having executed his commission with success, he established himself in Spain. As the first step to promotion, he renounced the Protestant religion, and subscribed to the doctrines of Rome. He suggested to Philip the treaty with the court of Vienna, which being brought to a successful conclusion by his address, he was created Duke and Grandee of Spain: his voice was decisive in all the councils: every department of the administration was filled by his creatures; and the whole Spanish empire seemed subject to his authority. His fall was as rapid as his rise; but history has not clearly developed the circumstances which led to that event. Being informed that an order had been

signed for his arrest, he took refuge in the House of the British ambassador, but was dragged from that sanctuary, and committed to the castle of Segovia. At the end of two years he escaped from his prison, gained the African coast, changed the Christian religion for that of the Koran, and was received into the service of the Emperor of Morocco. Thus Riperda, who had left Holland as a Protestant and an envoy, who had become a Catholic, a grandee and minister of Spain, died in Africa a Mahomedan and a Bashaw.*

A. D. 1726. The commercial injuries which the

English received from the Spaniards in the West Indies gave rise to a transient war between the two nations. Admiral Hosier being sent with a British squadron to block up the galleons in the harbour of Porto Bello, perished with most of his officers and men by epidemical diseases; and the ships were so damaged by the worms that infest those seas, as to be rendered unfit for further service. The management of the Spaniards was little or nothing better than that of the English. They consumed four months in besieging Gibraltar, and, after losing near ten thousand men, were obliged to abandon the enterprise. A war thus feebly and ingloriously conducted on both sides, was terminated by the

* He died in 1737, aged 57, vide Moore's Lives of Alberoni and Riperda,

mediation of the French minister, Cardinal Fleury; and a treaty was concluded between England and Spain, which, among other articles, confirmed the stipulations of the quadruple alliance.

A. D. 1730, &c. By the death of the Duke of Parma, the succession to that Duchy had devolved on Don Carlos; but, notwithstanding the various treaties which had confirmed his claims, he did not take possession of his inheritance without a transient opposition on the part of the court of Vienna; and Philip prepared to support him by the sword. But the weighty interposition of England and France obliged the Emperor to adhere to the previous stipulations; and the forces which had been assembled to vindicate the rights of Don Carlos in Italy, were employed to extend the glory of the Spanish arms in Africa. The Count of Montemar, with forty-five ships of war, and twentyfive thousand troops, proceeded to the African coast, landed his forces in the neighbourhood of Oran, and, after defeating a Moorish army of forty-five thousand men, pushed his attacks with such
A. D. 1732. vigour that the town, though defended by a numerous garrison, was obliged to surrender.

The Count of Montemar having secured his acquisition by a garrison of eight thousand men under the order of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, returned to Spain. The Moors, on his departure,

refumed their courage, and assembling their whole force laid siege both to Oran and Ceuta. A bloody struggle ensued. The Duke of St. Blas, a grandee of Spain, lost his life in a sally from Ceuta : the Marquis of Santa Cruz met with the same fate at Oran : in another sally from the latter place his successor, the Marquis of Miro-mesnel fell ; but the Spaniards were victorious : twelve thousand of the besiegers were slaughtered : their camp was taken ; and they totally abandoned their enterprize. Thus three brave Spanish commanders fell victims to the preservation of Oran and Ceuta : but the strength of the Moors was completely broken, and these two important fortresses were placed in a state of security.

1733, 1734. While the arms of Spain were triumphant in Africa, that kingdom was on the eve of being involved in new hostilities in Europe. From the time of the establishment of Don Carlos in Italy, the presence of the Spaniards in that country had been a subject of incessant alarm to the Emperor ; and the Queen continually endeavoured to stimulate Philip to attempt the recovery of Naples and Sicily. While such dispositions prevailed it was scarcely possible that peace could be long maintained ; and the expulsion of King Stanislaus from the Polish throne, by the arms of the Empress Ann of Russia, and of the Emperor Charles, kindled a

flame, which spread through the greatest part of Europe. The French were eager to avenge the injustice done to the father of their Queen; and Cardinal Fleury participated in the general indignation. Finding the courts of Madrid and Turin disposed to second his designs, that minister departed from his pacific system; and the three confederate powers immediately commenced hostilities.

A. D. 1734. The Duke of Berwick, at the head of the French army, began his operations by passing the Rhine and reducing the fort of Khiel; but, having invested Philipsburg, he was killed by a cannon ball in visiting the trenches. The Marquis of Asfeldt succeeded to the command, and continued the siege with such ardour and skill in the sight of Prince Eugene, that notwithstanding the efforts of that consummate general, the place was obliged to surrender. In Italy the successes of the Spaniards were still more rapid and important than those of the French in Germany. Thirty thousand veteran troops, under Don Carlos and the Count of Montemar, the conqueror of Oran, pressed forwards towards Naples. The imperial Viceroy, the Count of Visconti, with a body of ten thousand men, waited for reinforcements in the advantageous post of Bitonto, where he hoped to be able to resist the superior numbers of the enemy.

But the Spaniards being conducted by the Count of Montemar, were animated by the spirit of their leader. The intrenchments of the imperial general were forced, and his army was almost totally destroyed: the colours, artillery, and military chest were taken; and the victory of Bitonto placed Don Carlos on the throne of Naples.

Immediately after this brilliant success, the Count of Montemar, whose valour and skill had been rewarded by his sovereign with the title of Duke of Bitonto, passed over with twenty thousand men into Sicily. The garrisons of Messina, Syracuse, and Trepani, were obliged to surrender after a vigorous resistance; and in the space of a year the whole island was subjected to the sceptre of Don Carlos.

In the north of Italy, the arms of France and Savoy were scarcely less successful than those of Spain in the south. Such a series of disasters humbled the pride of the Emperor; and he seriously wished for peace. Through the mediation of the maritime powers, who began to be alarmed at the aggrandisement of the House of Bourbon, a treaty was concluded at Vienna; and, in adjusting the interests of the different belligerent powers, the Emperor reluctantly consented to acknowledge Don Carlos King of Naples and Sicily, and to accept, as an indemnification, the Duchies of Parma and Placentia.

A. D. 1736, &c. Spain now enjoyed a transient gleam of peace, which, however, was disturbed by a dispute with the Pope. Some Spanish officers having been massacred by the populace of Rome, the court of Madrid demanded the punishment of the murderers. The answer of his Holiness displayed all the arrogance of the successors of St. Peter; but he found that with the pride he had not inherited the power of his predecessors; and Philip, though a bigot in religion, was not such a slave to Papal authority as to dread the threats of the Vatican. His demands were enforced by a body of troops; and Clement XII. sensible that between spiritual and temporal arms the contest must be unequal, delivered up the principal offenders to justice. But in this season of transient peace and prosperity, Spain experienced a national calamity in the death of the Marquis of Castellar, who since the fall of Riperda, had superintended the finances of the marine, and directed the councils of his sovereign. Every department had felt the effects of his vivifying genius and unwearied application; and he expired at a moment when his country had the greatest need of his services.

A. D. 1739. The Asiento or contract between Great Britain and Spain, for supply

ing the Spanish colonies with negroes, though designed to promote the commercial interests and friendly correspondence of the two countries, produced new sources of discord. By this contract the Asiento company, besides the singular privilege of sending annually to the fair of Porto Bello a ship of five hundred tons burden, freighted with European commodities, was further permitted to equip, in the ports of the South Sea, vessels for conveying its negroes to all the towns on the coasts of Mexico and Peru, and to bring back the produce of its sales in gold and silver, without being subject to any duty of import or export. In consequence of these arrangements, British factories were established in all the principal towns of Spanish America; and the merchants of Jamaica, and the other English settlements, were enabled to gain the most authentic and expeditious information relative to the wants of the Spanish colonies, and could affort and proportion their cargoes with such exactness to the demands of the market, that the contraband commerce, to which the exorbitant duties imposed by the Spanish government on colonial trade had given rise, was carried on with incredible profit and to a vast amount.*

* Vide Roberts. Hist. Amer, vol. 3. b. 8. p. 271, &c.

In order to put a stop to this traffic, the court of Madrid stationed ships of war on the coast of those countries where it was chiefly carried on. These vessels, named *guarda costas*, were commissioned to search English ships trading in those seas. But the orders of government were probably exceeded; and the English accused the commanders of having seized, under various pretences, vessels which had a legal destination, and of having treated the crews with the greatest inhumanity. The Spaniards also disputed the right of the English to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, a right which had often been acknowledged in general terms, but had never been clearly defined. The court of St. James presented repeated remonstrances to that of Madrid, but received in answer only promises of inquiry, which produced no redress. The Spanish *guarda costas* continued and increased their depredations: numbers of British vessels were confiscated, and their crews condemned to the mines of Potosi. The British minister, Sir Robert Walpole, whose system was entirely pacific, overlooked these indignities; but the House of Commons addressed the King on the subject, intreating his Majesty to convince Spain that her insults could no longer be borne with impunity. These proceedings produced a convention between the two crowns. The King of

Spain agreed to pay ninety-five thousand pounds to satisfy the demands of the British subjects, and the final adjustment of the pretensions of the two nations was referred to a future discussion.

A. D. 1739. But the court of Madrid neglected

to pay the money without assigning any reason for the delay ; and the people of England being clamorous for war, overruled the influence of the minister. Hostilities were commenced ; and Admiral Vernon being dispatched to the West Indies with only six ships of the line, attacked and plundered Porto Bello, and demolished its fortifications. The capture of this important place excited the indignation of the court of Madrid ; and the most active preparations were made for carrying on a vigorous war. The fleets of Spain were incapable of facing those of England with any prospect of success ; but her numerous cruisers issued from her ports, and individual adventurers were enriched by predatory hostilities. Their captures were retaliated by the English ; but not in such proportion as might have been expected from the superiority of their marine, nor did Great Britain reap the golden harvest which the first moments of enterprise had seemed to promise. A formidable armament, consisting of twenty-nine ships of the line, and nearly an equal number of frigates, manned with fifteen

thousand seamen, and having twelve thousand land forces on board, was destined to attack Carthagena, one of the most important cities of Spanish America. But a variety of circumstances concurred to frustrate the design of the expedition. The sailing of the fleet was unaccountably delayed till the season for action was nearly passed; and when the British troops had effected a landing near Carthagena, the dissensions between the military and naval commanders impeded their operations.* Their first attempts were successful: they made themselves masters of the forts at the mouth of the harbour; but the Marquis of Esclaba, to whom the defence of Carthagena was intrusted, was determined either to preserve the city or bury himself under its ruins; and he had the address to inspire his soldiers with the same resolution. In a desperate attack on the fort of St. Lazar the English were repulsed with an incredible slaughter; and numbers were afterwards cut in pieces in repulsing a desperate sally made by the garrison. An epidemical fever, the effect of a burning and unhealthful climate, completed their misfortunes: its progress was rapid and fatal: between fifteen and twenty thousand British seamen and soldiers

* Admiral Vernon commanded the fleet, and General Wentworth the land forces.

perished by disease and the sword, and the survivors made a precipitate retreat from this scene of slaughter and contagion.

A. D. 1740. A small squadron, under Commodore Anson, had been destined to ravage the coasts of Chili and Peru, and, by means of intelligence conveyed across the isthmus of Darien, to co-operate with the armament under Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth, in supposition of their success at Carthagena. The plan had been penetrated by the court of Madrid ; and Don Joseph Pizarro had been sent from Spain with a squadron of equal force to oppose that of Anson. The British Commodore passed the Streights of Magellan, Pizarro made an unsuccessful attempt to double Cape Horn ; but the two hostile squadrons were nearly destroyed by the dreadful tempests which they encountered in those remote seas, and both the English and Spaniards experienced a series of distressful and romantic adventures.* Anson's force was reduced to one ship ; but he still persevered and plundered and burned the town of Paita, on the coast of Peru. The failure of the English before Carthagena defeated the chief object of his expedition ; but in the Pacific Ocean he fell in with and captured the Manilla galleon, which was valued at more

* Vide Anson's Voyage and Byron's Narrative.

than three hundred thousand pounds sterling. The rest of his prizes and plunder amounted to nearly an equal sum; and, after a voyage of almost three years, he returned to England laden with wealth, and was soon distinguished by the highest honours.

A. D. 1740. The war had continued several years between Spain and England, and neither party could boast of any important success, when the death of the Emperor Charles VI. extended the flames of discord throughout the greatest part of Europe. In that Prince the male line of the House of Austria failed: his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, who was married to Francis of Lorrain, Grand Duke of Tuscany, claimed the dominions of her father by right of blood, and by the pragmatic sanction, guaranteed by the principal powers of Europe. Maria Theresa, however, was not without competitors, descended from different branches of the House of Austria. Among these was Philip V. of Spain, who urged his pretensions as a descendant from the daughter of the Emperor Maximilian III. but he never expected to substantiate his claims: it was the ambition of his consort, Elizabeth Farnese, that impelled him to arms. That Princess aspired to place a crown on the head of her second son, as she had on that of her eldest; and her project was to form the Milanese with

the Duchies of Parma and Placentia into a kingdom for Don Philip. In the mean while the King of Prussia laying claim to a considerable part of Silesia, entered that country, and a most powerful confederacy was formed against the young Queen of Bohemia and Hungary.

A. D. 1741. The juncture being favourable to the projects of Spain, her troops were poured into Italy; and France, allured by the hope of acquisitions in the Netherlands, entered with alacrity into the war. A Spanish army, commanded by the celebrated Duke of Bitonto, was transported by the united squadrons of the House of Bourbon, and safely disembarked at Naples. But the Duke of Bitonto found the affairs of Italy different from what he had been led to expect. The King of Sardinia, jealous of the power of Spain, had entered into a league with the Queen of Hungary: and his efforts, together with those of the English, who threatened to bombard the city of Naples, obliged Don Carlos to sign a treaty of neutrality. The Duke of Bitonto performed nothing worthy of his former renown: having advanced as far as Bologna, he retreated before the King of Sardinia and the Austrians, and sought shelter within the Neapolitan territories. His disgraceful retreat occasioned his recal, and Count Gage was appointed his successor. Under his conduct

the Spaniards maintained a doubtful struggle in Italy, while in Germany the successes of the French were brilliant and rapid, but transient. They had reduced the greatest part of Bohemia, and had formally placed the imperial crown on the head of the Elector Charles of Bavaria; but their fortune suddenly changed; and the extraordinary courage and skill of Marechal Belleisle in his memorable retreat from Prague, saved their army from destruction. At Dettingen the French were defeated by the King of England, George II. But the House of Bourbon might derive some satisfaction from the equal conflict which the combined fleets of France and Spain sustained against that of England.

A. D. In Italy the war was carried on 1743 to 1744. with vigour: the Spanish army was joined by twenty thousand French, commanded by the Prince of Conti. In the valley of Chateau Dauphine, the rival ardour of the two nations was displayed in the total defeat of the King of Sardinia. Before the walls of Coni the French and Spaniards sustained their reputation: the King of Sardinia was again defeated; but the autumnal rains produced an epidemical disease in the camp of the besiegers; and Don Philip, being obliged to relinquish the enterprise, retreated into Dauphine with an army covered with laurels, but greatly diminished in numbers.

The King of the two Sicilies broke his treaty of neutrality, and openly espoused the cause of Don Philip. The Austrians advanced towards Naples and gained some transient advantages ; but their army being weakened by disease, they were obliged to retreat. In Flanders the French gained the battle of Fontenoy, which A. D. 1745. led to important conquests ; and in Italy Don Philip, who commanded the Spanish army, reduced Pavia, and closed the campaign of 1745 with his triumphal entry into Milan.

In the ensuing spring, the House of Austria, having concluded a treaty of peace with Prussia, was left at leisure to direct its attention towards Italy. The Prince of Lichtenstein, with forty thousand Germans, entered that country, recovered Lodi, Guastalla, and Parma ; and encamped at St. Lazaro, near Placentia, in which position he was attacked by Don Philip and Marechal Maillebois, who had succeeded the Prince of Conti. The conflict was long and bloody ; but the French and Spaniards were defeated with the loss of eight thousand men, and Don Philip was obliged to repass the Po.

Such was the state of the war when A. D. 1746. Philip V. expired at the age of sixty-two. His various and eventful reign of forty-six years constitutes an important period in the history of Spain. He was the first Prince of the

House of Bourbon that reigned in that kingdom; and from his accession, the genius of the monarchy seemed to revive. France, its most formidable and dangerous enemy, was now become an ally, and so important a change in her political relations enabled Spain to aspire once more to conquest and dominion. But it appears that little of this alteration is to be ascribed to the personal abilities of Philip. The most laudable traits in his character were his mildness of disposition and his personal courage, of which he had given incontestible proofs in the war of succession; and the scenes of that tumultuous period had made it appear that he was capable of activity; although it is certain that his natural disposition was inclined to indolence, fanaticism, and melancholy. But the bold and masculine councils of his consorts and ministers supplied that energy of which his own character was destitute. Their ambition involved the kingdom in several unnecessary wars; but some regard was paid to the interests of commerce; and the reign of Philip V. is distinguished by the first symptom of reform in the management of the trade between Spain and her colonies. From the time of Charles V. this commerce had been wholly confined to the city of Seville until the sands, which accumulated in the Guadalquivir, rendered that river unfit for the navigation of

large vessels, when the monopoly was, in the year 1720, transferred to Cadiz, and, during this whole period, the trade was carried on by the flota to Vera Cruz, and the galleons to Porto Bello, the number of vessels being limited, and the whole system placed under the most impolitic restrictions. But in 1740, the 40th year of the reign of Philip V. permission was granted to individuals, not concerned in the periodical fleets, to fit out separate vessels, called register ships, for the supply of the American settlements. This first alteration, in the restrictive system of colonial trade, was attended with beneficial effects, and opened the way to further improvements. In a word, although Philip was indolent, and his wives and ministers ambitious, it is evident that he found and left his kingdom in very different circumstances, and that his reign was the commencement of a new æra in Spain.

CHAP. XIII.

Accession of Ferdinand the Sage.—Retreat of Don Philip and Marechal Maillebois from Italy.—Surrender of Genoa to the Austrians.—The Austrians invade France.—Disastrous issue of that enterprise.—The Genoese expel the Austrians.—Battle of Exilles.—Valour of the Piedmontese.—Successes of the Marshals Saxe and Lowendahl in Flanders.—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.—Destruction of Lima by an earthquake.—Measures of Ferdinand for the relief of the sufferers.—His financial and commercial regulations.—Ferdinand refuses to join with France in a war against England.—His efforts for restoring the prosperity of Spain.—His death.—His character.

HAVING brought forward to distinct inspection the various revolutions which have so often changed the destinies of Spain, the uniform tenor of the last half century, requires a less ample display. The death of Philip V. devolved the sceptre into the hands of his son Ferdinand, who commenced his reign at the mature age of thirty-three, and who shewed, by his first measures, the benevolence of his disposition. A general pardon was granted to all deserters and outlaws, the wretched victims of superstition were liberated from their dungeons, and restored to light and

liberty ; and the meanest subject had an easy access to the presence of his sovereign, whom he always found ready to receive his petitions or remonstrances.

Involved, at his accession, in a bloody and destructive contest, Ferdinand could not fully indulge his wishes for the happiness of his people. He regarded war as the scourge of the human race ; but he was sensible that permanent peace could be obtained only by vigorous measures ; and he prepared to extort that blessing by arms. Don Philip and Mareschal Maillebois, alarmed at the death of the late King, and ignorant of the sentiments of his successor, retired before the superior armies of Austria and Sardinia ; and although oppressed by the heat of the weather, and incessantly harrassed by the enemy, they effected their retreat to Genoa. Here they received dispatches from Ferdinand informing them of his resolution to prosecute the war with vigour ; but the Austrians and Sardinians were rapidly advancing, and notwithstanding the reproaches and intreaties of the Genoese, imperious circumstances compelled Don Philip to abandon them to their fate. Having recommenced their retreat, the Spaniards, under Don Philip, established their cantonments in Savoy ; and the French, under Mareschal Maillebois, reached, with difficulty, the frontiers of Provence.

After the retreat of the French and Spaniards Genoa surrendered, by capitulation, to the Marquis of Botta, the Austrian general. Maria Theresa, elated at the success of her arms, aspired to erect her martial trophies in France, and Count Brown, at the head of fifty thousand men, desolated Dauphine : in conjunction with the squadrons of England he doubted not of planting the standard of Austria on the walls of Toulon and Marseilles, and of successfully terminating an enterprise which had baffled the efforts of Charles V. The useful lesson which might have been derived from the failure of that great monarch, was neglected by the Imperialists, until it was forcibly impressed by similar misfortunes. Mareschal Belleisle had succeeded Maillebois in the command of the French army, which, after its retreat from Genoa into Provence, amounted only to about ten thousand men. The difficulties which he had to encounter would, to an ordinary mind, have appeared insuperable ; but his fertile and enterprising genius gave a new turn to affairs. The Spaniards were not inactive spectators of his exertions : the Marquis de la Mina led to his support five thousand hardy veterans, while Don Philip animated by his presence the garrison of Aix. The invaders had laid siege to Antibes ; and that place was blockaded by an English squadron. But the

supplies of the Austrian army were intercepted, and their quarters were straitened : they perceived that they were arrived at the utmost limits of their progress, and Count Brown had already begun to meditate a retreat, when an unexpected event determined him to carry it into immediate execution.

The citizens of Genoa, after submitting to the Austrians, had been driven to despair by their oppressions. A contribution of a million sterling had been demanded and a great part of it paid ; and Maria Theresa also required the republic to join her in the war against France and Spain. The Genoese remonstrated against the requisition, which they represented as ruinous to their trade ; but the Empress Queen was inexorable. Her troops, in the mean while, gave a loose to their licentiousness and avarice, and treated the citizens with every kind of indignity. The Genoese bore, with sullen patience, the yoke of their tyrants, till an insult offered to a private individual roused the public spirit ; and from tears and slavery they rose, in a moment, to vengeance and liberty. The Marquis of Botta ordered a train of artillery to be taken from the arsenal for the use of the army in Provence ; and the inhabitants themselves were obliged to draw the cannon which they had once considered as the defence of

their city. On this occasion an Austrian officer, who superintended the business, struck one of the citizens, who seemed to perform with indolence or reluctance the laborious and disgraceful task. The Genoese instantly plunged a knife into the bowels of his oppressor: the action served to re-animate the people with the spirit of freedom: they immediately seized the first weapons that presented themselves; and the massacre of the guards, who accompanied the artillery, was only the work of a moment. The ferment soon became general: the arsenal, and the shops of the manufactures, furnished the populace with arms: during the space of five days the conflict was maintained in the streets of Genoa, until it was terminated by the total expulsion of the Austrians.

The revolt of Genoa put an end to the operations in Provence. The Austrian army, under Count Brown, was obliged immediately to retreat; and its rear was continually harraßed by Marechal Belleisle. The French and Spaniards repassed the Var; and their united banners were soon after displayed from the walls of Montalban, Nice, and Villa Franca.

A. D. 1747. An instantaneous impulse of resentment had restored the Genoese to independence; but to maintain them in that

situation, required stable counsels and vigorous measures. The Duke de Boufflers, with four thousand French veterans, was dispatched to their assistance, and was soon reinforced by three thousand Spaniards. They were supplied with officers and engineers of approved ability ; and the Kings of France and Spain remitted them large sums of money to enable them to provide the necessary means of defence. The Genoese soon experienced the utility of these succours : the scattered corps of the Austrians being assembled in the Milanese, Count Schulemberg, who had taken the chief command, having forced the passage of the Bochetta, appeared before Genoa at the head of forty thousand men. The siege was immediately commenced : the attack and defence were conducted with equal vigour, skill, and intrepidity ; but while the fate of the Genoese was doubtfully suspended, the Austrian general was obliged to relinquish the enterprize, and march to the support of the King of Sardinia.

Don Philip and Marechal Belleisle, having been reinforced by formidable detachments from France and Spain, were impatient to penetrate into the heart of Italy ; and the Chevalier de Belleisle, the brother of the Marechal, was ordered to march at the head of thirty thousand French and Spaniards to attack the strong post

of Exilles, on the frontiers of Piedmont. The approach of this army alarmed the King of Sardinia, who earnestly solicited Count Schulemberg to relinquish the siege of Genoa, and hasten to his succour. The Austrian general yielded, with reluctance, to his entreaties: before he gave the signal of retreat, he tried the effect of a last and vigorous assault, but being repulsed with a terrible slaughter of his troops, he retired with precipitation from the inauspicious walls, and marched towards Piedmont. But before he could arrive at Exilles, his assistance became unnecessary. In that strong position twenty-one battalions of Piedmontese, secured by ramparts, and defended by a formidable artillery, awaited the approach of Belleisle. That general attacked their intrenchments with a desperate intrepidity: in several successive assaults he was repulsed with a prodigious loss; yet he returned to the charge with a determined resolution to conquer or perish. In the moment that he had planted, with his own hand, the standard of France on the hostile barricades, he fell dead by a thrust from a bayonet; and his troops, discouraged by his fate, retreated with precipitation and confusion. In this decisive action, so certain had been the destructive aim of the Piedmontese, and so great the obstinacy of the assailants, that the French and Spaniards, who were killed on the spot,

were more than double the number of those that were wounded.

The battle of Exilles seemed to have blasted for ever the expectations of Don Philip; but the losses which the House of Bourbon sustained in Italy were more than compensated by its successes in Flanders. In that country a French army of a hundred thousand men, commanded by Mareschal Saxe, bore down all opposition. That celebrated commander detached Count Lowendahl to invade Dutch Brabant; and the important fortresses of Stuys, Sandburg, and Hulst, were successively obliged to surrender to his arms. In a general engagement at Val, Mareschal Saxe gave the English a total defeat; but he purchased his victory with the loss of ten thousand of his men. After this success Mareschal Saxe amused the confederates with a variety of complicated movements, while Lowendahl, with thirty thousand men, invested Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortress in Dutch Brabant, and after a most destructive siege carried the place by assault. The French, however, were unsuccessful by sea, and the Spaniards, in several partial encounters, experienced the superiority of the English marine.

While victory and defeat alternately attended the arms of each party, the vicissitudes of war inclined the belligerent powers to peace. A

congress was held at Aix-la-Chapelle : the preliminaries were signed in the month of October, A. D. 1748. a treaty was concluded, the basis of which was a mutual restitution of all conquests made during the war. Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, were confirmed as a sovereignty to Don Philip, with the proviso, that in case he or his descendants should succeed to the throne of Spain, or that of the two Sicilies, those territories should revert to the Empress, Queen of Hungary, and the King of Sardinia. Thus Elizabeth Farnese saw a double throne erected for her offspring on the blood and treasures of Spain.* By this treaty the King of Prussia was confirmed in the possession of the Duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz ; and the contracting powers who had guaranteed the pragmatic sanction, renewed their engagements to Maria Theresa. A new treaty was soon after concluded between Spain and Great Britain, by which, in consideration of a hundred thousand pounds sterling paid by the court of Madrid, the British South Sea Company resigned all claims to the Asiento contract, which had opened the way to so many disputes.

* Naples and Sicily for Don Carlos, and Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, for Don Philip.

1749 to 1753. From the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle the reign of Ferdinand is distinguished by the rare advantage of affording few materials for history. To heal the wounds which a thousand years of almost uninterrupted warfare had inflicted on his country, and to lighten the burdens of his subjects, who were sinking under the weight of accumulated taxes, were the objects of his salutary labours. The calamities caused by the convulsions of nature, as well as the ravages occasioned by the rage of man, demanded his attention, and felt the effects of his healing hand. In the year 1747, the city of Lima, the opulent capital of Peru, had been overwhelmed by an earthquake: three fourths of the city were reduced to a heap of ruins: some thousands of the inhabitants perished; and the rest were plunged from affluence and splendour into indigence and misery. The town of Callao, about six miles distant from Lima, was entirely swept away by the sea, which, receding to a vast distance, returned in mountainous waves, and buried the inhabitants for ever in its bosom. So dreadful a destruction of one of the principal cities of the new world, sensibly affected the feeling heart of Ferdinand; and the measures which he took for the relief of the wretched survivors entitled him to the name of the father of his people. By his

financial regulations the more intolerable grievances were removed ; and the relaxation of laws restrictive to commerce, laid the foundation for further improvements ; nor could Ferdinand be allured from those beneficial occupations by the ambitious projects of the court of Versailles.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was little more than a suspension of arms between France and England. That defective treaty had not precisely determined the boundaries of the two nations in North America ; and the encroachments of the French gave rise to a new scene of hostilities, which was soon extended to the European continent, and followed by a sanguinary contest between Prussia and Austria. But when Ferdinand was solicited to join in the war which the King of France had determined to resume against England, he rejected the proposals for a family compact ; and preserved the tranquillity of Spain, while the hostile banners of France and England were displayed in the East and the West, and Germany was deluged with blood. But notwithstanding his generous wish to restore and invigorate the Spanish empire, the space of a few years was not sufficient to remedy the evils which, in the course of many centuries, had sprung from superstition, avarice, ambition, and

almost continual wars. The reign of Ferdinand was far too short to raise Spain from her prostrate condition ; but his efforts were honourable to himself and beneficial to his country. He

A. D. 1759. expired amidst the lamentations of his subjects in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign. Though he possessed both activity and fortitude, he was a lover of peace : he was just, humane, and beneficent ; and the enviable surname of Sage, which he acquired, remains to posterity the best eulogium on his character.

CHAP. XIV.

Accession of Charles III.—Family compact between Spain and France.
 —War between Spain and Great Britain—Havannah, Manilla, and the island of Trinidad taken by the English.—The French and Spaniards invade Portugal—Peace of Paris.—Unsuccessful expedition of the Spaniards against Algiers.—Spain espouses the cause of the American colonies, and engages in a war with Great Britain.—Impolicy of the measure.—Admiral Rodney captures seven Spanish ships of the line.
 —Defeats the Spanish fleet under Don Juan de Langara.—The British homeward bound East and West India fleets captured and carried into Cadiz.—The Isle of Minorca taken by the Spaniards.—Memorable siege of Gibraltar.—Peace concluded between the belligerent powers.
 —Charles attempts several national reforms.—Insurrection at Madrid.—The American trade laid open to all Spanish subjects.—Death of Charles III.—His character.—Effects of his reign.

FERDINAND VI. leaving no issue, his brother, Don Carlos, resigned the crown of Naples and Sicily to his third son Ferdinand, and ascended the throne of Spain. In the commencement of his reign he seemed to adhere to the pacific system of his predecessor; but he was soon allured by the court of Versailles to enter into a family compact, which involved Spain in the war between France and England.

From the accession of Charles, the court of Madrid shewed a decided partiality to France; and the British minister, Mr. Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, having received correct information of its hostile intentions, proposed in council an immediate declaration of war against Spain. His opinion being overruled by a great majority of the members, Mr. Pitt resigned his office. At length, however, the family compact becoming publicly known, the British government found hostilities with Spain unavoidable, and a declaration of war was accordingly

Jan. 4.
A. D. 1762. issued against that kingdom.

The contest was short, but extremely disastrous to Spain. At that juncture the British fleets had already crushed the naval power of France, and rode triumphant on the ocean. The Spanish empire in America soon felt their formidable efforts. A respectable armament under Admiral Pococke, and the Earl of Albermarle, commander of the land forces, struck an alarming blow at the vitals of the monarchy, by the reduction of the Havannah, the general rendezvous of the homeward bound flotas from Porto Bello, Vera Cruz, and Carthagena. That city, the strongest and most important in the West Indies, after sustaining a vigorous siege of two months and eight days, surrendered to the British arms. The reduction of the Havannah was succeeded by

the capture of the city of Manilla, which surrendered to an English force commanded by Admiral Cornish and General Draper. The Isle of Trinidad underwent the same fate; and a number of rich prizes, among which was the *Hermoine*, a register ship from Lima to Cadiz, valued at a million sterling, were taken by the British cruisers. While Spain thus experienced the disastrous effects of the family compact, the courts of Madrid and Versailles, as their last resource, resolved on a war with Portugal; and their combined armies entered that kingdom. This expedient had the intended effect. The invasion of Portugal embarrassed the counsels of the British government, which was obliged to send considerable armaments to the support of its ancient and faithful ally, and greatly contributed to the conclusion of a peace. Negotiations were commenced, and a treaty between the House of Bourbon, and the Kings of England

Feb. 10, and Portugal was signed at Paris.
A.D. 1763. The Spanish possessions in East and West Florida were ceded to Great Britain, and the right of British subjects to cut logwood in the bay of Honduras was confirmed. On these considerations Spain obtained the restitution of the Havannah and Manilla, with their dependencies. Between the House of Bourbon and Portugal, peace was concluded on the basis of

placing things on the same footing as at the commencement of hostilities.

After the peace of Paris, Spain, in common with all the western parts of Europe, enjoyed the blessings of tranquillity until the court of Madrid A. D. 1775. projected an unsuccessful expedition against Algiers. A body of above twenty thousand troops, commanded by the Count d'Oreilly, landed about four miles to the eastward of Algiers; but on their approach towards the city, they were repulsed with considerable slaughter, and obliged to take shelter on board the fleet. In this ill fated or ill concerted enterprize, the Spaniards had two hundred and eighteen officers, and above two thousand five hundred soldiers, killed and wounded.

The war, which had arisen between Great Britain and her colonies, was gradually extended to the maritime states of Europe. The despotic government of France, actuated by that policy which dictated the diminution of the power of a rival, embraced an opportunity which appeared so favourable to its views, and undertook the protection of American liberty.* By the intrigues of the court of Versailles, and the adherence of Charles III. to the family com-

* Vide the remarks of Dr. Brown. Append. to Leland's View of Deistical Writers. sect. 1.

past, Spain was involved in an impolitic contest, of which the successful termination could not fail of being dangerous to her interests by establishing, beyond the Atlantic, a powerful empire, which might eventually subjugate her richest colonies, or at least afford them a tempting example to aspire to that independence, the prevention of which has ever been one of the principal objects of the court of Madrid.*

Spain having united with France in the war against England, their naval force became extremely formidable, and their combined fleets seemed, for some time, to ride triumphant in the channel. But they soon began to feel the superiority of the British marine. Admiral Rodney, who had a strong fleet under his command, captured seven Spanish ships
 Jan. 8, 1780. of war, with a number of trading vessels under their convoy; and a few days after he defeated, near Cape St. Vincent, a fleet of eleven ships of the line and two frigates, under Don Juan de Langara. In this engagement four of the largest Spanish ships were taken, one of 70 guns, and 600 men, blew up in the action, and two were driven on shore. The English were equally successful in several

* Vide Lettre aux Espagnols Américains par Don Juan Pablo Viscardo y Gulman.

naval engagements with the French in the West Indies ; but these losses, sustained by the House of Bourbon, were compensated by a very important advantage. The combined fleets of

Aug. 8, 1780. Spain and France fell in with and took five British East Indiamen, and fifty merchant ships, bound for the West Indies. This was one of the richest naval captures recorded in history : such a prize had never before been carried into the port of Cadiz.

During the space of more than a year, the court of Madrid shewed no great activity in carrying on the war ; and seemed to act merely as an auxiliary to France. But at length the

A. D. 1782. Spaniards re-commenced, with vigour, their naval and military operations.

An army of sixteen thousand men, commanded by the Duke de Crillon, reduced the Island of

Feb. 6. Minorca, after the troops, which formed the garrison, had signalized themselves

by a most vigorous defence, till, being attacked by the scurvy, the pressure of disease, rather than the efforts of the enemy, compelled them to surrender. The Island of Jamaica, the most valuable of the British possessions in the West Indies, would probably have been conquered by the united arms of the House of Bourbon, had not Admiral Rodney fallen in with the French fleet under the Count de Grasse, who was

April 12. proceeding to join that of Spain at St. Domingo. The van of the French being too far advanced to support their rear, the English gained a complete victory, and the design which the French and Spaniards had formed against Jamaica was frustrated. But though the French were rendered incapable of further exertions in the West-Indies, the naval force of the Spaniards in that quarter was unimpaired, and the Bahama Islands surrendered to their arms.

But the most celebrated transaction of the war was the memorable siege of Gibraltar. Soon after the commencement of hostilities, the Spaniards had laid siege to that fortress; and in its defence, General Elliot, the governor, with his brave garrison, had displayed a resolution and perseverance corresponding with the importance of the object. The Duke de Crillon being appointed to conduct the siege, the most skilful engineers of France were employed to direct the operations, and several Princes of the blood, as well as nobles of the first distinction, repaired to this famous military theatre. A grand attack was projected, the plan of which surpassed every thing recorded in the history of sieges. It was made by ten battering
Sept. 13. ships of from 600 to 1400 tons burden, so constructed as to be proof against bombs, and

carrying in all two hundred and twelve brass guns, which discharged balls of twenty-six pounds weight. The showers of shot and shells poured from those vessels, and from their land batteries, were answered by tremendous discharges of red hot balls from the garrison, and the whole exhibited a scene of which no description can give an adequate idea. No less than four hundred pieces of the heaviest artillery were playing at the same moment, an instance which has scarcely ever occurred in any siege since the invention of those terrible engines. The impression of the red hot balls which were discharged in showers from the garrison, however, proved irresistible. In the afternoon smoke was perceived to issue from some of the battering ships, and about one in the morning several were in flames. Rockets were thrown up as signals of distress; and the humanity and activity of the English, in saving great numbers of their enemies from destruction, were not less conspicuous than their valour and resolution in defending the place. Thus terminated, in defeat and disaster, the most skilful and formidable attack ever made on any fortress. In the month of October following the garrison of Gibraltar was relieved by Admiral Lord Howe, in the face of the combined fleets of France and Spain, after having offered them battle, though with a force

greatly inferior. After these events the military operations were of trifling importance.

Jan. 20.

A. D. 1783.

In the beginning of the year treaties of peace were concluded between all the belligerent powers. The independence of the American republic was acknowledged, and the interests of Great Britain, France, and Holland were adjusted. Great Britain ceded East and West Florida, and the Island of Minorca to Spain, and in return, obtained the restitution of the Isle of Providence, and the Bahamas. In order to prevent any future misunderstanding, it was also stipulated that British subjects should have the right of cutting logwood in the district between the rivers Bellize and Rio Hondo, which were fixed as their unalterable boundaries.

Peace was no sooner restored than Spain commenced a new war. A considerable naval armament was sent against Algiers: the city was bombarded, but sustained no great damage: the affair was compromised; and the tyrants of the Mediterranean, although checked, were not effectually humbled.

The remaining part of the reign of
1784 to 1788.

Charles III. was employed in various internal regulations, most of which were calculated for the benefit of the kingdom and the extension of its commerce. But it seems that the

current of public sentiment did not keep pace with the spirit of reform which actuated the court. Amidst his plans for regenerating the nation, Charles aspired to imitate Peter the Great of Russia,* and to introduce among the Spaniards a total change of dress and manners; but the attempt occasioned so dangerous an insurrection at Madrid as to oblige the King to dismiss his minister the Marquis of Squillace. The failure of this extensive plan of reform exhibits an instance of the difficulty of changing the manners and customs of a whole nation, and of the necessity to which despotism itself is frequently reduced of consulting the genius, and respecting the prejudices of the people.

Notwithstanding, however, the opposition which the court of Madrid experienced in some of its plans of reform, several abuses were removed or diminished. The power of the inquisition, although not wholly abolished, was greatly abridged. In the year 1765 the commerce to the Spanish West India islands was laid open to most of the principal ports of Spain: the numerous restrictions on colonial trade in general were gradually relaxed; and the importation of cotton, and of all the principal West India staples, duty free, was permitted into certain ports, which

* Voltaire Hist. de Pierre le Grand, and Tooke's Hist. Russ. vol. 1.

were specified in the edict. In 1778 a free trade was permitted from Spain to Peru, Chili, and Buenos Ayres, and soon after to several of the other colonies; and in 1788, the last year of Charles, the same regulations being extended to Mexico, the commerce of Spanish America, which had so long been confined to Seville and Cadiz, and monopolized by a few overgrown merchants, was completely laid open to every subject of Spain, a measure which could not fail of having a powerful effect in reviving the national industry, so long depressed by continual wars, oppressive taxes, and commercial restrictions.*

A. D. 1788. Charles III. died much less lamented than his brother Ferdinand VI. In regard to his character he appears, however, not to have been destitute of abilities. His policy has been justly arraigned for participating the misfortunes of France in the year 1762, by his adherence to the family compact, and for endangering the Spanish empire in America, by supporting the independence of the British colonies. In other respects his reign must be considered as beneficial to Spain.

* Bourgoing Tab. de L'Espagne moderne, tom. 2. p. 167, &c.—Encyclop. Method. 1.—Dr. Robinson's Hist. America. book 8. &c.

CHAP. XV.

Accession of Charles IV.—His care to guard Spain against the principles of the French revolution.—Dispute with Great Britain relative to the affair of Nootka Sound.—Spain accedes to the coalition against France.—The English and Spaniards take possession of Toulon.—Are obliged to evacuate that place.—Bellegarde taken by the Spaniards.—Retaken by the French.—Battle of Figueras.—Defeat of the Spaniards.—Rosas, Fontarabia, and St. Sebastian, surrender to the French.—Peace between Spain and France.—War between Spain and England.—Peace of Amiens.—Renewal of the war between England and France.—Renewal of the war between Spain and England.—Defeat of the combined fleets of Spain and France off Trafalgar.—Capture of Buenos Ayres.—Its recovery by the inhabitants.—The English take Maldonado and Monte Video.—Their unsuccessful attempt on Buenos Ayres, and evacuation of South America.

ON the demise of Charles III. his son, Charles
 Dec. 19. IV. who had then completed his fortieth year, ascended the throne of
 A. D. 1788. Spain. His mature age might have seemed to indicate a degree of prudence adequate to the cares of royalty ; but the weakness of his character, and the extraordinary circumstances of the times, have frustrated the expectation of his people, and subverted his throne. The year

following his accession was marked by the French revolution, which has proved the source of so many calamities to Europe. From its first commencement, the court of Madrid took every possible care to prevent the introduction of its principles into Spain. Successive proclamations, issued against travelling tinkers, knife-grinders, and other strollers, who were suspected of introducing seditious papers into the kingdom, and rigorous edicts respecting strangers of every description, evinced the extraordinary caution of the Spanish government.

While the apprehensions of the court of Madrid were excited by the French revolution, Spain was menaced by England. Since the year 1785 several vessels had sailed from London and Bengal to the North West coast of America, where they procured rich cargoes of furs, which they sold at enormous prices in China. Allured by this lucrative traffic, the English had established a factory at Nootka Sound, in the fiftieth degree of north latitude, and were proceeding to form a settlement. But Spain had constantly claimed the right of sovereignty over the whole western coast of America, and in conformity with these pretensions, Don Martinez, who commanded a Spanish ship of war, seized the British vessels trading in that quarter. The ships and their crews, however, were liberated; but

the Spaniards took possession of the settlement. This transaction took place in May 1789, and on the 30th of April, in the following year, Captain Mears, one of the sufferers, presented his memorial to the British ministry, who immediately demanded satisfaction from the court of Madrid for these violent proceedings. The affair remained for some time in suspense; and preparations for war were made on both sides. But happily the cabinets of St. James and the Escorial were, at this juncture, inclined to peace. The satisfaction required by the former was

Oct. 28.
A.D. 1790. granted, and a treaty was concluded, by which the possession of Nootka Sound, and the adjacent parts, was confirmed to Great Britain.

Spain was thus delivered from [a dangerous war; but the rigorous edict respecting strangers, with some other measures of government, being found injurious to commerce, excited a general murmur. The popular discontent is supposed to have occasioned the dismissal of the prime minister, the Count of Florida Blanca, who was succeeded by the Count d'Aranda, an experienced statesman, and a declared enemy to the French revolution. From family connexions, mingling with the interests of royalty, the King of Spain might have been expected to be one of the first in supporting the throne of France; but his

solicitude for the safety of Louis XVI. prevented him from joining with Austria and Prussia in the war which they had undertaken against the revolutionists of that kingdom. Until he saw his humane interference in favour of that monarch rejected by the national convention, Charles had preserved a strict neutrality; but after Louis was brought to the scaffold, in spite of the remonstrances of the Spanish ambassador, he joined

March 23: the grand coalition, and declared war
A. D. 1793. against the French republic.

The naval force of Spain being joined to that of Great Britain, Admiral Hood, who, with an English and Spanish fleet, was cruising in the Mediterranean, entered into a negotiation with the inhabitants of Toulon, and took possession of the town and shipping in the name of Louis XVI. He landed an army of fourteen thousand men, consisting of Spaniards, English, Germans, Neapolitans, and Piedmontese; but a force so weak in numbers, and of a composition so heterogeneous, could make no further impression on the republic of France. The confederates indeed soon found themselves unable to maintain their post. The army of the convention having advanced to Toulon, immediately commenced the siege. On the 30th November the garrison made a vigorous sortie, in order to destroy the works which the French were erecting on the

heights that commanded the city. The allies effected their purpose, and put the enemy to flight; but, being elated with their success, they pursued the fugitives till they were unexpectedly attacked by a considerable body of the republican army. The British general, O'Hara, who was commander in chief at Toulon, while endeavouring to make a regular retreat, was wounded and taken prisoner. The siege was afterwards carried on with vigour; and on the 19th December, about five in the morning, the French made their grand attack. It was chiefly directed against Fort Mulgrave, which was defended by about three thousand English, with twenty pieces of cannon and several mortars. In the space of an hour this formidable post was carried, and the town was afterwards bombarded till ten o'clock at night, when the allies, having first set fire to the shipping, began to evacuate the place, and with as many of the inhabitants as could be taken on board the vessels, precipitated their flight; while on shore a most dreadful scene of confusion, plunder, and massacre took place, and the flames, spreading from the ships in every direction, produced an almost general conflagration. Never perhaps did the devastations of war produce a more shocking and terrible scene. Fifteen ships of the line, with a number of frigates and small craft, were destroyed: three ships of the

line were brought away by the English, and some frigates and smaller vessels by the other allies.

A. D. 1794. The Spaniards, like the rest of

the combined powers, began the next campaign with success, but ended it with defeat and disaster. A formidable Spanish army, joined by six thousand Portuguese, reduced Bellegarde, with some other places of inferior importance, and threatened Perpignan. But the indecision of the government damped the national ardour, while that of the French, in the first moments of the revolutionary war, was raised to enthusiasm. The resources of France were called into action by the laws of the requisition: her armies were augmented by numerous levies, and rendered formidable by discipline. The Spaniards, overpowered by the superior numbers of the enemy, were compelled to retreat; and the French laid siege to Bellegarde. The Spanish general, L'Union, a man of distinguished courage and considerable military skill, made a vigorous effort for its relief; but being defeated with the loss of between two and three thousand men, he was compelled to retire, and that important place soon after surrendered to the republican arms.

A. D. 1795. The ensuing campaign commenced with vigour, and several bloody actions took place, in most of which the Spaniards

were defeated. General L'Union, in order to establish discipline by terror, had decimated some battalions which had behaved in a cowardly manner at Bellegarde, and retired to the fortified camp of Figueras, where he was resolved to make a desperate stand. In this strong position the Spaniards were attacked by the French army, commanded by General Dugomier. According to the account given by the commissioner Barrere, the action was terrible and sanguinary almost beyond description. The intrenchments fortified with numerous redoubts and batteries, in commanding positions, and defended by near fifty thousand men, presented a formidable object of attack, while the Spanish artillery resembled volcanos vomiting incessant showers of ball. But the enthusiastic valour of the French triumphed over every difficulty. Their battalions rushed desperately forward amidst the tremendous volleys of grape shot and musquetry, and, undismayed by the death of their general, Dugomier, who was killed in the heat of the action, in less than three hours they carried every battery at the point of the bayonet. The Spanish general, L'Union, fell in the trenches amidst a horrible carnage: no quarters were given: no prisoners were taken: all were put to the sword. The Spaniards, being driven from their camp, rallied on a fortified height under

the castle of Figueras, but were obliged to abandon that post. The cannon on this eminence were then turned against the castle ; and the garrison, consisting of above nine thousand men, provided with a hundred and fifty pieces of heavy artillery, was intimidated into an immediate surrender. Whatever exaggeration may be suspected in the report of the French commissioner, it is certain that this bloody day decided the fate of the war between Spain and the republic. The subsequent operations of the French were a succession of victories. Rosas, a place strong both by nature and art, surrendered to their arms : Tolosa suffered the same fate, and Barcelona was menaced. The republican army of the Western Pyrenees, which had been gradually formed, being joined by the new levies, was now become superior in numbers to the Spanish forces in that quarter. Their emulation being excited by the exploits of their countrymen on the eastern side of the kingdom, the republicans marched at one in the morning in three columns, and forced the intrenchments of their enemies with the bayonet. The Spaniards were thrown into so great a consternation that they instantly abandoned the fort of St. Barbe ; Fontarabia, the bulwark of Spain on that side, surrendered on the first summons to the republican army ; and the fortress of St. Sebastian

followed the example. The French were now masters of a considerable part of Catalonia and Biscay, and could easily open a way to Madrid.

Dangers so pressing rendered the court of Madrid desirous of peace; and various circumstances concurred to induce the Spanish ministers to try the event of a negotiation with France. The arms of the republic were every where victorious; and the coalition, from which so much had been expected, was evidently on the eve of its dissolution. The King of Prussia had withdrawn from the confederacy, and concluded

April 5. a peace with the French republic,
A. D. 1795. and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel was preparing to follow his example. A misunderstanding had taken place between Spain and Great Britain relating to the ships of war brought away by the English from Toulon. The King of Spain was desirous of having these ships in deposit, and had also expected the restitution of a rich Spanish galleon, which, having been taken by the French, was afterwards retaken by the English, and considered as a lawful prize. These circumstances having given great umbrage to the court of Madrid, concurred, with the progress of the enemy, in determining Charles IV. to secede from the coalition. A treaty of

July 22. peace was concluded at Basle be-
A. D. 1795. tween his Catholic Majesty and the

French republic : the latter restored all its conquests in Spain, and received in return the cession of the city of St. Domingo, and of all the Spanish part of Hispaniola. The Duke d'Alcudia, who had succeeded the Count D'Aranda in the favour of his sovereign and the administration of Spain, had been one of the chief promoters of the war ;* but by terminating it with so little disadvantage at a moment when the enemy was expected at the gates of the capital, he received from the King the title of Prince of the Peace,† and from that time his influence was unlimited.‡

The political system of the court of Madrid was now totally changed : the peace was followed by a treaty of alliance with France, and soon

Oct. 8. after by a war with Great Britain.

A. D. 1796. Some time after the commencement of hostilities between the two nations, the Spanish marine sustained a considerable loss in an action with a British Squadron, commanded by Admiral Jervis. The Spaniards were much superior in force ; but the English admiral having, by a judicious and successful manœuvre, separated

* Segur's Hist. Frederick William, vol. 3. p. 97.

† Ibid. vol. 3. p. 219.

‡ The Prince of Peace, formerly a life guard's man, rose from the ranks through the favour of the Queen. His own regiment of dragoons used to mount guard at the gate of his palace, and he maintained the state of King. Semple's Travels, vol. 1. p. 216.

the rear of their fleet from the main body, two of their ships of 112 guns, one of 84, and one of 74, were captured. But the war between Spain and Great Britain was productive of few events of importance, the chief efforts of the latter being directed against the French republic. The island of Trinidad, however, was captured by the British arms, and at the conclusion of the peace of Amiens, was ceded by Spain to Great Britain.

The treaty of Amiens restored tranquillity to Spain as well as to the rest of Europe, and for a moment appeared to dispel the dangers with which the French revolution had threatened the civilized world. But the visionary hope of halcyon days proved illusory. The ambition and power of France was once more to shake Europe to its centre; and Spain was doomed again to act a conspicuous part in the important drama. The peace of Amiens was only a transient gleam: the restoration of Malta to the knights of the order, had constituted one of the articles of the treaty; but unforeseen circumstances having rendered its fulfilment incompatible with the general security, the differences on this and some other points rekindled the flames of war between France and Great Britain; and all Europe was eventually implicated.

The administration of Spain at this time was wholly in the hands of the Prince of Peace, who was devoted to the interests of France, and by his influence over the Queen, ruled Charles IV. with absolute sway. Under the direction of this minister his Catholic Majesty had concluded a treaty with the French government, by which he agreed to furnish France with fifteen ships of the line and twenty-four thousand men. The execution of this treaty was, however, to be deferred till the arrival of the fleets from America; but the British ministry, having obtained certain information of the affair, resolved to anticipate the court of Madrid by immediately commencing hostilities. Instructions to this effect were given to the naval commanders; and Commodore Moore, with four English frigates, having fallen in with a Spanish squadron of the same number, immediately brought them to action, and gained a complete victory. One of the Spanish ships blew up in the action; and the three others were captured. In consequence of

Dec. 14. this transaction the court of Madrid
A.D. 1804. issued a declaration of war against
England.

Spain was thus once more implicated in a contest which almost annihilated her commerce and her marine. In every encounter on the ocean she felt the naval superiority of Britain,

and experienced considerable losses. Her fleet, combined with that of France, was totally de-

Oct. 21. A. D. 1805. feated in the famous battle of Trafalgar, which was rendered memorable

by the death of Nelson, the British Hero. The English had twenty-seven ships of the line, the combined fleets, commanded by Admiral Villeneuve, consisted of thirty-three, fifteen of which were Spanish, and eighteen were French. Their disposition evinced consummate skill, and the valour which they displayed gained them the esteem of their enemies. But the attack made by the English was irresistible. Admiral Nelson, by a bold and judicious manœuvre, broke the compact line of battle which the French and Spaniards had formed. After seeing several of their vessels strike, he was mortally wounded in the heat of the action, and died in the full meridian blaze of glory. Admiral Collingwood succeeded to the command, and completed the victory. After an obstinate conflict and a dreadful carnage, the combined fleets of France and Spain were totally defeated. Twenty of their ships were captured or destroyed: several of these were Spanish, among which were the Santissima Trinidad and the Santa Anna, both of them first rates. The Spanish Vice and Rear Admirals, Don Ignatio Maria d'Aliva and Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cineros, were taken prisoners,

and Spain suffered an ample share in the loss of that memorable day.

The colonies of Spain, as well as her navy, experienced the effects of the British arms. An expedition, under Sir H. Popham and General Beresford, sailed to the Rio de la Plata, in South America, in order to attack the city of Buenos

June 25, 1806. Ayres. The British general having landed his troops at the point of Quilmay, about twelve miles from Buenos Ayres, drove the Spaniards from their post at the village of Redaſtion, put to flight the different bodies of their troops and militia, and marched directly to Buenos Ayres, which immediately surrendered

June 28. by capitulation. But that important place did not remain long in the hands of the English. Within the space of little more than six weeks, a formidable insurrection was organized by Pueridan, a member of the municipality. Numbers of militia and volunteers were collected in the adjacent country, and the whole population of the city flew to arms. After a desperate contest the

Aug. 12. British troops were overpowered, and General Beresford was obliged to capitulate on the condition of marching out of the city with the honours of war, and of being suffered to embark with his troops for England; but the

Spaniards violated the capitulation, and retained them prisoners.

The British squadron and troops in the Rio de la Plata, however, did not remain long in a state of inaction. About the end of the year 1806 they captured Maldonado. In the beginning of the following year, Admiral Stirling and General Auchmuty appeared before Monte Video, and after a vigorous siege the place was

Jan. 20, 1807. carried by assault. The governor and most of the garrison were made prisoners, the rest escaped in boats. The loss sustained by the British forces was very considerable.

Encouraged by this success, the English made a second attempt to become masters of Buenos Ayres. General Whitelocke was appointed to direct the operations of the land forces in this expedition, and Admiral Murray commanded the fleet. The British troops, amounting to

June 28. above eight thousand men, landed at the Ensenada de Barragon, about thirty miles from Buenos Ayres.* Having met with little opposition on their march, preparations for

* The numbers are given according to the evidence of Lieutenant-Colonel Bradford, deputy adjutant-general in the expedition, who states them at 7822, exclusive of 200 seamen. Vide his examination on General Whitelocke's trial, 16th day. Lieutenant-Colonel Bourke in his evidence on the 5th day states them at 8522 rank and file.

an assault were immediately made. It is difficult to conceive a more extraordinary plan of attack, a more unsuccessful attempt at execution.

The valour of the British officers and soldiers were exerted in vain : great numbers fell in the conflict, and several corps were obliged to surrender.* The sanguinary affair was terminated by a convention, in which it was stipulated that all prisoners should be restored, and that the British troops and squadrons should, within the space of four months, quit Monte Video with all their conquests in that quarter, and retire from the river of La Plata.† In this expedition the English were convinced that erroneous opinions had been formed of the resources of this part of Spanish America. It appeared from the evidence examined on General Whitelocke's trial that the population was so numerous, so turbulent, and so determinately hostile to Great Britain, that if the governor had surrendered the city, the whole British force would not have been able to control the mass of armed inhabitants.‡

* The English lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about 2500 men. Gen. Whitelocke's dispatches dated 10th July.

† It is well known that the British General Whitelocke, being tried before a court martial for the failure of this enterprise, was dismissed from the service.

‡ Vide General Gower's examination 16th day of the trial, and General Auchmuty's examination 19th day.

This expedition against Buenos Ayres was the last event of importance that occurred in the war between Spain and Great Britain. Affairs of an extraordinary nature effected a total revolution in the political relations of the two countries, and an usurpation of so atrocious a kind as scarcely to have any parallel in history, placed Spain in a situation of unprecedented difficulty.

CHAP. XVI.

Ambitious projects of the French Emperor.—Pretended conspiracy of the Prince of Asturias.—Treaty of Fontainebleau.—Introduction of the French armies into Spain.—The French take possession of Portugal.—Emigration of the Portuguese court to Brazil.—Disposal of the French forces in Spain.—Design of the King to remove the court to Mexico.—Tumults at Madrid and Aranjuez.—Charles resigns the sceptre to his son Ferdinand.—The Duke of Berg, with the main body of the French army enters Madrid.—Journey of the royal family to Bayonne.—Insurrection at Madrid.—King Ferdinand compelled to abdicate the throne.—The French Emperor confers the crown of Spain on his brother Joseph.—General insurrection in Spain.—The French fleet at Cadiz surrenders to the Spaniards.—The French repulsed in an attack on Valentia.—Defeat of the French general, Moncey.—The French repulsed in different attacks on Saragossa.—Surrender of General Dupont and his army.—Arrival of King Joseph at Madrid.—His precipitate retreat.—Battle of Vimiera, and expulsion of the French from Portugal.—The English advance into Spain.—The French Emperor arrives in Spain.—Takes Madrid.—Retreat of the English.—Battle of Corunna.—Glorious defence of Saragossa.—Battle of Medellin.—War between France and Austria.—Successes of the Spaniards.

NOTWITHSTANDING the strict alliance which had, since the treaty of Basle, subsisted between the court of Madrid and that of the Thuilleries,

the sacrifice of the armies, the fleets, and the treasures of Spain on the altar of French ambition, could not preserve her from the effects of that all devouring system of usurpation which has proved so fatal Europe. The treaty of Tilfit seemed to have decided the destiny of the world in favour of the French Emperor; and no sooner was it concluded, than he projected the design of bringing Spain and Portugal under the sway of his sceptre. He had previously taken some steps towards the disarming of Spain, by demanding a respectable number of her troops, as auxiliaries; and a select body of sixteen thousand men, being placed at his disposal, were condemned to exert their valour in remote regions and for foreign interests.

The unhappy dissensions of the royal family, and the dark intrigues of the court of Madrid, favoured the designs of Napoleon, and facilitated the subversion of the throne of the Bourbons in Spain. The Prince of Peace, who directed the Spanish councils with absolute control; was known to be the creature of France; and, notwithstanding his ascendancy over the King, his name and administration were extremely unpopular. About the beginning of the month of November, 1807, the different factions which had, for some time, been brooding in Spain, began to make trial of their strength. The

Prince of Asturias, the presumptive heir to the crown, was accused of being at the head of a conspiracy against his father and sovereign, Being seized in the royal apartment, the cypher of the whole correspondence of the conspirators is said to have been discovered in the lining of his coat. The Prince, on his examination, positively denied any knowledge of the affair, asserting his total ignorance of the document found in his possession and concealed in so singular a manner. In proof of this assertion, he alleged that to have been the first day of his putting on the coat in the lining of which it was found. Other accounts say that the Prince confessed the whole affair, and received his father's pardon. All the details, however, of this singular affair can be considered as nothing more than the fabrications of a corrupt and intriguing court; and the recent work of Don Pedro Cevallos is far from removing the mysterious veil which has hitherto enveloped the domestic dissensions of the royal family of Spain.

These dissensions, if not originally excited, were undoubtedly promoted by the influence and agency of France; and while the court of Madrid was agitated by the efforts of faction, the cabinet of the Thuilleries was preparing for the execution of a deep laid and unprincipled plan of usurpation. The Prince of Asturias had

been amused with the expectation of espousing a niece of the French Emperor; and a negotiation for that purpose had already commenced before his pretended conspiracy and imprisonment. In the mean while a treaty had been concluded between his Catholic Majesty, Charles IV. and the Emperor of the French, the evident tendency of which was to render the latter master of both Spain and Portugal. By this treaty, which was signed at Fontainebleau, on the 27th October, it was stipulated that Tuscany, or the kingdom of Etruria, should be ceded to the Emperor of the French and King of Italy; and that Portugal should be partitioned in the following manner:—The Province of Entre Minho y Douro should be ceded to the King of Etruria, with the title of King of Northern Lusitania: Alentejo and Algarve were to be erected into an independent and hereditary sovereignty for the Prince of Peace, who should take the title of Prince of the Algarves: the fate of the Provinces of Beira, Tras los Montes, and Portuguese Estremadura, which constitute the middle division of the kingdom, were to be held in a state of sequestration till the conclusion of a general peace, in order to be then disposed of according to circumstances. The Emperor of the French guaranteed to his Catholic Majesty all his possessions on the continent of Europe, and the two

high contracting parties agreed to make between them an equal partition of the transmarine possessions of Portugal. In order to carry these projects into execution, twenty-five thousand French infantry, and three thousand cavalry, were to be joined by eleven thousand Spaniards, with thirty pieces of artillery, and march directly to Lisbon; while two divisions of Spanish troops, the first consisting of ten thousand, the other of six thousand men, were to take possession of the northern and southern divisions of Portugal. Another French army of forty thousand men was also to be assembled at Bayonne, and to be ready to enter Spain before the end of the ensuing month of November.* In conformity to these arrangements, a French army, commanded by General Junot, having marched through Spain, advanced towards Lisbon. On the approach of the invaders the Prince Regent, with the whole royal family, and many of the nobles of the court, embarked on board the fleet in the Tagus, and sailed to Rio di Janeiro, in Brazil, leaving the French in possession of Portugal.

Such were the deep laid plans of Napoleon for making himself master of the peninsula.† Under

* For the treaty and secret convention, concluded at Fontainebleau, on the 27th of October, 1807, see the exposition of Don Pedro de Cevallos.

† By the treaty of Fontainebleau it was stipulated that the King of Spain should be acknowledged Emperor of the two Americas.

the character of friends and allies the French armies began to enter Spain : their ostensible pretext was to support the dignity of the crown, and preserve the tranquillity of the kingdom, as well as to prepare for the invasion of Portugal and the attack of Gibraltar. By these pretences the court and the nation were blinded ; and the French met with no opposition in securing the strongest places, and taking the most commanding positions. In the mean while a perfect harmony seemed to reign between the cabinets of the Escorial and the Thuilleries ; and an apparent reconciliation having taken place between the King and the Prince of Asturias, diffused throughout Spain an universal joy and a general calm, the delusive forerunners of a deluge of calamities.

While the Spanish nation thus reposed in peaceful security, the French Emperor was making every preparation for executing his atrocious design of seizing the kingdom ; and the disposal of his troops was judiciously adapted to that purpose. His primary object was to secure the entrances into Spain by the passes of the Pyrenees. In this view he kept up a chain of communication from Bayonne to Burgos, and from the former place into Navarre by a road which lies through narrow defiles, amidst a chaotic mass of stupendous mountains. The

latter communication was commanded by a strong garrison fixed at Pampeluna. The road from Perpignan into Catalonia, by Rosas, and the famous pass of Figueras was not completely occupied; but a garrison of eight thousand French was placed in Barcelona, which, together with Pampeluna, gave them, in a great measure, the command of the north of Spain. At the same time the Grand Duke of Berg, with the main body of the army, was ready, when needful, to advance to the capital. A strong force was also collected at Bayonne, from which detachments were occasionally sent into Biscay, Navarre, Old Castile, and Arragon. In this manner the tempest, which was to burst upon Spain, gradually collected its powers: according to the most accurate accounts the French armies in that kingdom did not, in the ensuing spring, amount to less than a hundred thousand men; and General Junot had twenty thousand in Portugal.

The factions of the court accelerated the explosion of the volcano which so many inflammable materials had contributed to form. The Prince of Peace, who had so long been all powerful in Spain, perceiving himself the object of public detestation, and convinced that he should not be able to maintain his standing against a formidable party in the midst of civil commotions, inspired

the King with apprehensions for the safety of his person and government if he should remain at Madrid. In consequence of his insinuations, it appears that his Catholic Majesty had determined to translate the seat of government to Mexico. It is impossible to ascertain what part the Emperor of the French had taken in suggesting or promoting this design. Don Pedro Cevallos only informs us, that the Emperor suddenly ordered Don Eugenio Isquierdo, his Catholic Majesty's plenipotentiary at Paris, to repair to Spain, which he did in a precipitate and mysterious manner. "He brought no proposals in writing, nor was he to receive any; and he had orders to remain only three days." On his arrival at Aranjuez, the Prince of Peace introduced him to an audience of the King and Queen; but the conferences were conducted with so much secrecy that it was impossible to discover the object of his mission. The consequences, however, might suggest a conjecture; for soon after the return of Don Isquierdo to Paris, their Majesties began to make dispositions for abandoning Spain and emigrating to Mexico.*

This measure, which appears to have been concerted between the Prince of Peace and the Emperor of the French, was reprobated by the

* Vide exposition of Don Pedro Cevallos.

Prince of Asturias, as well as by the Infants Don Carlos and Don Antonio, and the majority of the grandees of the court. Amidst such circumstances it was not difficult to excite an insurrection of the people ; and the symptoms of agitation in the public mind, induced the King to publish a decree in which he declared that it was not his intention to leave the peninsula. This declaration, however, was far from calming the public discontent, as all the measures of the court indicated a determination to emigrate, a journey of the royal family to Seville being announced, and orders being given for the stationing of troops to keep open the road.* The public alarm kept pace with these preparations ; and the report that the guards were to march to Aranjuez, where the court then resided, was the signal for a general commotion. The inhabitants of Madrid ran in crowds to the road which leads to that place, in order to oppose their departure. At the same time such of the ministers and grandees as were hostile to the project

* "There was no person who was not persuaded that this was for the transport of your Majesty and the royal family to America. Your Majesty also published a decree to quiet the minds of your subjects in this particular ; but as all preparations were made, and it was manifestly seen that the coast of Andalusia was to see the royal family assembled, despair took possession of the public mind, and the movement of Aranjuez was the consequence." Letter of King Ferdinand to his father, Charles IV. dated Bayonne, May 4, 1808.

of emigration, caused hand-bills to be rapidly circulated in the parts of the country adjacent to the capital, stating the intentions of the court and the dangers to which the nation was exposed. The night presented a scene of tumult,

March 17, 18, &
19, 1808.

and in the morning a numerous mob hurried to Aranjuez. The

popular fury was chiefly directed against the Prince of Peace, whose palace, although defended by his guards, was forced, and the furniture totally destroyed. It reflects, however, no small degree of honour on the Spanish populace, that amidst this scene of lawless turbulence, the Princess of Peace was treated with the respect due to her sex and her rank, and conducted in safety to the royal palace. The Prince had made his escape ; but his brother, Don Diego de Godoi, commandant of the guards, was arrested by his own soldiers. In order to quell the tumult, and quiet the minds of the people, a proclamation was immediately issued by the King, announcing the dismissal of the Prince of Peace from all his employments. This, however, did not calm the popular ferment. The same scenes were renewed at Madrid as soon as intelligence was received of the transactions which had taken place at Aranjuez. The populace rushed in crowds to the palace of the Prince of Peace, and to the houses of the ministers and

grandeos who were known or suspected to be of his party. In all these the furniture and ornaments were destroyed and the windows demolished. While these outrages were committed, the Swiss regiments cantoned in Madrid, kept themselves close in their quarters, not daring to oppose the populace; and there existed in that capital no power that was able to suppress the tumult and put a stop to the disorders. In the midst of this general effervescence Charles IV. harrassed by domestic faction and foreign intrigue, by ministerial perfidy and popular discontent, was impelled by his parental affection or personal fears to issue a royal decree, by which he abdicated the throne in favour of his son, the Prince of Asturias, who was accordingly proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies.*

* The following character of the late King and Queen of Spain is given by a late traveller—He is “a man of good intention but confined understanding, and a mere slave to the pleasures of the chase, which forms not only his sole diversion but his principal occupation. His thoughts are constantly engaged by partridges, hares, and wild boars, and his greatest exploit is to have fired so many guns in the course of the day. These are constantly presented to him, ready loaded by his huntsmen, as fast as he can discharge them, and hence the slaughter which he makes is almost incredible. It must be owned that he is an excellent marksman; but what is more to his credit, he seems to be aware of the fatal effects of this blind passion in the monarch of a great kingdom, and has given orders that his sons should not be allowed to acquire similar propensities. In his person he is very tall and stout, and is generally healthy, owing no doubt to the constant exercise which he takes, and his temperance, water being his constant beverage. His consort forms the reverse to his insensible character, being intriguing, revengeful, and a slave to far other passions than the chase.” *Semple's Travels*, vol. 1. p. 214. 215.

One of the first acts which marked the accession of Ferdinand VII. was the confiscation of the estates and effects of the Prince of Peace, who had been discovered in his place of concealment and committed to prison.*

Till the period of the resignation of Charles, the intrigues of the court of Madrid, and the general affairs of Spain, are involved in obscurity; nor are they much elucidated by the exposition of Don Pedro Cevallos. The situations in which that courtier had been placed afforded him excellent opportunities of information;† but at the critical period in which he wrote, he appears to have been cautious not to discover unpopular secrets; and, perhaps, few of his readers will give implicit credit to his assertion that the abdication of Charles IV. was a free and voluntary act.‡ After that event the aspect of

* The Prince of Peace was afterwards released at the instance of the Grand Duke of Berg, and was sent to Bayonne.

† Don Pedro Cevallos had served Charles IV. under the administration of the Prince of Peace. After the abdication of Charles he was employed by Ferdinand VII. whom he accompanied to Bayonne. When Joseph Bonaparte was nominated to the crown of Spain, Cevallos, at his intreaty, accepted the office of one of his ministers. This seeming versatility has occasioned some invidious remarks, as if it had been the constant maxim of this courtier to follow prosperity; but it ought to be observed that he entered into the service of the usurper at Bayonne, as the only means of returning to his country, and resigned his office at the first opportunity after his arrival at Madrid. In this respect, therefore, he acted with policy and prudence, and his conduct cannot be considered as an impeachment of his character.

‡ The correspondence which passed between Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand VII. at Bayonne, consisting of positive assertions, direct

Spanish affairs assumes more distinct and conspicuous features. Hitherto domestic faction had agitated the court and the nation: the intrigues of foreigners had operated only in secret; but soon after the revolution, which placed Ferdinand VII. on the throne, the designs

contradictions, and bitter reproaches, throws no kind of light on this dark affair. Charles in his letter of 2d of May, 1808, makes use of these expressions, "You introduced disorder into my palace, and infused a spirit of mutiny into my body guard."—"You dishonoured my grey hairs, you despoiled me of the crown."—"My heart has been fully unfolded to the Emperor: he knows all the violence that has been done to me: he has declared that you shall never be acknowledged as King, and that the enemy of his father can never acquire the confidence of foreign powers."—"In tearing from my head the crown, you have not preserved it for yourself: you have taken from it all that is august and sacred in the eyes of mankind."—"I am King by the right given me by my forefathers: my abdication was the result of force and violence." Ferdinand, in answer to this letter of his father, repels every charge, and answers every particular. In regard to the abdication he says, "Your Majesty is the best witness, that, in the midst of the commotion at Aranjuez, not a word was whispered against your Majesty, or against any one of the royal family. On the contrary, they applauded your Majesty with the greatest demonstrations of joy and professions of fidelity to your august person. On this account the abdication of the throne, which you made in my favour, surprised every one, and myself among the rest; for nobody expected it, or would have solicited it. Your Majesty yourself communicated your abdication to all your ministers, enjoining them to acknowledge me as their Lord and Sovereign. You communicated it verbally to the diplomatic body, professing that your determination proceeded from your spontaneous will, and that you had previously determined upon it. You yourself told it to your beloved brother, adding, at the same time, that the signature which your Majesty had put to the decree of abdication was the happiest transaction of your life; and finally, your Majesty told me personally, three days afterward, that I should pay no attention to any assertion of your abdication being involuntary, as it was in every respect free and spontaneous." Dated at Bayonne, May 4th, 1808. Vide exposition of Don Pedro Cevallos: The dark intrigues of the courts of Madrid and the Thuilleries are difficult to unravel, but it is easy to discover the hand by which they were directed.

of the French Emperor became daily more apparent, and his interference more decisive.

During the transactions already related, the French armies had been rapidly pouring into Spain, and taking, without opposition, the most advantageous stations. At last the Grand Duke of Berg advanced with the main body of the army to Madrid, the capital of the kingdom, and the central point from which he could readily send detachments to any part of the Spanish peninsula. The grand catastrophe was now approaching, and the French Emperor had already repaired to Bayonne to be ready to act as circumstances might require. This bold and artful politician omitted nothing that could be conducive to the accomplishment of his atrocious design. By an alternation of flattering promises and ambiguous menaces, both Ferdinand VII. and Charles IV. with the whole of the royal family, and several of the principal grandees, were allured or terrified into a measure of a most ominous nature, and of which they might have suspected the fatal consequences. This was a journey to Bayonne, the most extraordinary circumstance of the Spanish revolution. Without the supposition of absolute force, it is difficult to conceive what motives could induce those Princes to place themselves in the power of the Emperor of the French, whose conduct was every day becoming

more suspicious. Ferdinand, indeed, addressing a memorial to his subjects, deduces his reasons from the circumstances in which he assumed the reins of government. “Many of the provinces
“of the kingdom, and all the frontier garrisons
“occupied by great numbers of French troops,
“and more than sixty thousand of the same
“nation stationed in the metropolis, and many
“other data, which no other person could
“possess, all conspired to persuade him and
“his royal brothers that, being surrounded
“by rocks and quicksands, they had no other
“remedy but to choose among many evils the
“one that would be the least productive of
“calamity—as such they fixed on a journey to
“Bayonne.”* The choice, however, could not have been more injudicious, nor the consequences more calamitous. The great and unfortunate error of Ferdinand was that of throwing himself into the hands of a foreign despot,

* It is, however, to be observed that when Ferdinand departed from Madrid, he expected soon to have met the French Emperor, whom he supposed to be on his journey towards that capital, and for whose reception the most magnificent preparations were made. On his arrival at Burgos, and not meeting with the Emperor, General Savary, the French envoy, urged him to continue his journey to Vittoria. Here he halted, and General Savary proceeded to Bayonne in order to consult with the Emperor on the mode of proceeding. On his return he assured Ferdinand that the Emperor would acknowledge him as King; and the too credulous Prince, after some hesitation, consented to proceed to Bayonne, the fatal goal from whence he was not to return.

instead of those of his loyal subjects; whose fidelity and courage would have formed an impregnable bulwark round his person and throne. The Spaniards, thus abandoned by a court which had ruined the nation by its intrigues and dissensions, were left without a rallying point or a centre of union, and without any plan of defence against a formidable host of invaders, who were already in possession of the strongest fortresses and the most commanding positions in the kingdom. But the disadvantageous circumstances in which the Spanish nation was placed, rendered its patriotic struggle more glorious.

After the departure of the royal family, the most dreadful disorders prevailed in Madrid. Popular assemblies were frequently held: the French were daily insulted; and every appearance announced a dreadful explosion. The popular fury burst forth in a general insurrection. The Grand Duke of Berg
May 2, 1808. was surprised and surrounded by the mob, and, after having defended himself for some time, was on the point of being overpowered, when some of his soldiers came to his support. The Duke then flew to his post, and a battalion of French, with some artillery, repaired to the palace. The Great Square and the street of Alcala were crowded with the insurgents. A numerous body of them pushed forward to the

arsenal, and had already broke in, when General Lafraen arrived just in time to prevent them from seizing the arms and the cannon. The streets and the square were cleared by volleys of grape shot, and charges of cavalry; but the insurgents continuing to fire from the houses, Generals Daubrin and Guillet, with their divisions, forced the doors, and all that were found in arms were put to the sword. The numbers that perished in this murderous conflict have been variously estimated; but on both sides the loss must have been considerable. In consequence of these commotions, an order was issued from Bayonne constituting the Duke of Berg, lieutenant-general and governor of Spain.

The moment was now arrived when the French Emperor judged it no longer necessary to dissimble. He had once pretended to espouse the cause of Charles IV. in order to replace him on the throne; but now having the two Kings in his power, he obliged them both to sign a formal abdication, and the Infants Carlos and Antonio were, at the same time, compelled to renounce their claims to the succession. These extraordinary proceedings were brought about by a train of intrigue unparalleled in history. After King Ferdinand, allured by the most flattering promises, had arrived at Bayonne, it was pro-

posed that he should resign the crown of Spain to one of the brothers of the French Emperor : that on this condition he should receive the kingdom of Etruria, and that if he desired to espouse the Emperor's niece, the alliance should take place on the execution of the treaty. The proposal was accompanied with a menace that if he rejected these conditions he should remain without compensation, and his Imperial Majesty would carry his design into execution by force. On the refusal of Ferdinand to resign the crown, the Emperor ordered the Duke of Berg to employ all his address, to prevail on Charles and his Queen to repair to Bayonne ; and the royal personages immediately undertook the journey. Being arrived at Bayonne, an interview of a [most extraordinary nature took place between the father and the son, in the presence of the French Emperor. All the company being seated except King Ferdinand, Charles, after using the most insulting and humiliating expressions, commanded him to make an absolute renunciation of the crown on pain of being treated with all his household as an usurper, and a conspirator against the life of his parents. Thus ended this singular interview, and if we may credit the assertion of Don Pedro Cevallos, the French Emperor, in a conference with King Ferdinand, said to his Majesty,

“ Prince, il faut opter entre la cession et la mort.”

“ Prince, you have only to choose between cession and death.”

In consequence of these violences Ferdinand resigned the crown of Spain to his father, Charles IV. who signed an act of abdication in favour of the French Emperor. It is impossible to know what had passed in the private conferences between Napoleon and Charles IV. or in what manner the latter had been wrought upon in this transaction; but it is difficult to conceive how the Spanish monarch could, without violence, be brought to forget all his duties to his family so far as to proscribe his whole race, and resign his crown to a foreigner. The abdications and renunciations made by the different branches of the royal family, were represented as voluntary acts; but Spain and all Europe regarded them in a very different light.

May 25.
A.D. 1808.

An imperial decree was now issued by the French Emperor, declaring the throne of Spain to be vacant by the abdication of the reigning family, and ordering an assembly of the prelates, grandees, &c. to be held at Bayonne, for the purpose of fixing the basis of a new government. This order was communicated by the Duke of Berg to the council of Castile, and a commission was appointed for secularizing the lands of the church. Few

Spaniards, however, except the partisans of France, attended the Junta of Bayonne, the proceedings of which it was easy to anticipate.* The result was that the crown of Spain was conferred on Joseph Bonaparte, who abdicated the throne of Naples in favour of the Grand Duke of Berg.

This consummation developed the whole plan of perfidious policy which had been so long carrying into effect by every engine of intrigue, and which, during the space of more than eight months, had concealed, under a mysterious veil, the approaching fate of Spain. The exasperation of the public mind was now inconceivable, and announced the approach of a terrible crisis. From the motley scenes of family dissension, ministerial perfidy, royal weakness, and imperial robbery, the historian turns with pleasure to the contemplation of a glorious display of national spirit and patriotic enthusiasm. The first intelligence of the renunciations compulsively made by the royal family, was the signal for a general insurrection. The blaze of patriotism first burst out in Asturias, the cradle of the Spanish monarchy, and shewed that the spirit which the inhabitants had displayed at the time of the Ara-

* Don Pedro Cevallos says that about ninety persons were convened, but without the necessary powers.

bian invasion, had been, through a long succession of ages, transmitted to their descendants.* From Asturia the patriotic flame instantaneously spread into Gallicia and several parts of Leon. A Junta, convened at Oviedo, having appointed the Marquis of Santa Cruz generalissimo of the patriotic forces, published a formal declaration of war against France, and sent a deputation to request the assistance of England. This request was readily granted, and the British government declared itself at peace with the Spanish nation.† From the north of Spain the flame was rapidly communicated to the south. The council of Seville, rejecting the authority of the supreme council of Madrid, which was under a foreign control, assumed an independent authority in the name of Ferdinand VII. and having published an appeal to the nation, issued a formal declaration of war against the Emperor of the French.

The abhorrence of foreign usurpation was indeed universal, and in almost every part of

* Such a display of national spirit had scarcely been expected by the French Emperor: the nations of Europe indeed seem to have been little acquainted with the character of the Spanish people. But an English traveller, who visited Spain in 1805, says, with a spirit almost prophetic, "It is here that we ought to look for a great balance to the power of France in the West. In this country, perhaps, unfavourable as its appearances may now be, the freedom of Europe is destined to commence." Semple's Travels, vol. 1, p. 220, 221.

† Vide proclamation of his Britannic Majesty, July 4, 1808.

Spain the insurrections commenced nearly at the same period. Provincial assemblies were formed in most of the principal cities, and depots were established in suitable situations. Orders were issued for levying troops, and every effort was made for organizing the armies. In the Province of Andalusia alone above fifteen thousand regular troops were collected: to these were joined sixty thousand armed peasants, and the chief command was given to General Castanos. In the other provinces the same ardour was displayed, and similar exertions were made to organize the general insurrection. But the absence of the King was a circumstance highly unfavourable to the nation, which was thus left without a centre of union. The people rose with an unanimity of sentiment almost miraculous; but the different Juntas were only local authorities, acknowledging no head, jealous, watchful, and suspicious of any attempt on the part of one to obtain an ascendancy over the rest. From this intricate mixture of provincial interests with the national cause, and the too great reliance of the patriots on their own strength, originated the ill concerted expedition of the British forces to Lisbon, when they ought to have been landed in the north of Spain, on the security of which all depended. The Junta of Asturia and Gallicia, flushed with temporary

success, and relying on present appearances, deemed the assistance of the English in that quarter unnecessary, and advised them to commence their operations by expelling the French from Portugal. From these erroneous views, and this difficulty of concert between the British ministry and the different Juntas, may be attributed the oppression of Spain by the arms of the French Emperor.

While the Juntas were organizing the insurrection, the Duke of Berg perceived the gathering storm, and prepared for its approach. He immediately began to fortify the Retiero, and sent out detachments from Madrid into the different provinces. General Dupont was sent to secure a position at Cordova, from whence he might readily move upon Carthagená, Seville, or Cadiz. General Moncey, with upwards of twelve thousand men, was detached to Valentia. General Le Febvre was stationed in the Province of Arragon, for the purpose of reducing Saragossa, and keeping open the communication between Madrid and Barcelona. The French army in the north western provinces consisted of above forty thousand men under the command of Mareschal Bessières, who had his principal station at Burgos, in order to maintain the communication between Madrid and Bayonne.

The wealthy, populous, and commercial city of Cadiz was the first in displaying its ardour in the patriotic cause. A French squadron of five ships of the line and one frigate, lying in that port, was compelled to surrender to the Spaniards, after sustaining a severe cannonade from the batteries, while a British fleet, stationed off the harbour, prevented its escape. This transaction was followed by the defeat and almost total destruction of the French army under General Moncey.

On the 28th July that commander attempted to carry, by storm, the city of Valentia. The assault commenced at two o'clock in the afternoon, and continued till eight, when the French were repulsed with the loss of 2500 men. On this memorable occasion the Valentians distinguished themselves by a display of patriotism and valour of which history affords few examples. The place being destitute of troops, its defence rested solely on the inhabitants: the monks and other clergy acted as soldiers, and even the women afforded every assistance of which they were capable. After this repulse General Moncey began his retreat; but on the following day he was overtaken about thirty miles from Valentia, and totally defeated by the patriotic forces under Generals Cerbellon and Caro. The car-

nage was dreadful, and the French army was nearly destroyed. Saragossa, where General Palafox commanded, rivalled Valentia in patriotic enthusiasm and determined valour. On the 1st of July the French made a vigorous attack on Saragossa, but all their efforts were rendered ineffectual by the courage and conduct of General Palafox, and the valour of the troops and armed inhabitants. Their succeeding attempts were equally ineffectual. On the 14th of the same month the enemy again made a desperate assault on that important place, but were repulsed with prodigious slaughter. In some accounts it has been said that the gates being thrown open, the enemy entered the city without opposition, and were instantly exterminated by volleys of grape shot in the streets, and of musquetry from the houses. But it is difficult to believe that the French would enter so incautiously, when every appearance must have indicated a stratagem; nor ought we, perhaps, to give implicit credit to the statements of the patriots, when they assert that the French lost above twelve thousand men in their different attacks on Saragossa.

The Spaniards, however, did not every where meet with equal success. On the same day that was marked by the repulse of the French in their

grand attack on Saragossa, the patriotic general, Cuesta, was defeated near Benevento by General Lasolles. The French army consisted of ten thousand infantry, and two thousand cavalry : that of the patriots was superior in numbers, being composed of fourteen thousand troops and a body of peasantry : the Spaniards had also twenty-six pieces of cannon ; but they had only eight hundred cavalry, and as the action took place in a campaign country, their defeat was ascribed to their want of a sufficient proportion of cavalry.

But one of the most important transactions of the campaign took place in Andalusia. The French general, Dupont, on receiving intelligence that Cadiz, Seville, and Carthagera had espoused the patriotic cause, abandoned Cordova, and took a strong position on the heights of Andujar, and the Duke of Berg immediately sent to his support a detachment of eight thousand men from the head quarters at Madrid. General Castanos being informed of their march advanced, without delay, at the head of the Andalusian army, in order to attack Dupont before he should receive this reinforcement. An obstinate and sanguinary action took place ; but the numbers and valour of the patriots at length prevailed, and their victory was decisive.

The French general, in order to save the remnant of his army from destruction, was obliged to surrender himself and his troops prisoners of war. The detachment marching to join him was included in the capitulation, but with this difference, that the troops which composed it, should not be considered as prisoners, but be conveyed by sea to France. At the commencement of the action Dupont's army amounted to twelve thousand men. In one day, therefore, not less than twenty thousand of the French were killed, made prisoners, or expelled from Spain. This victory indeed was of incalculable importance to the patriots. Had Dupont been victorious, Seville and Cadiz would have lain at his mercy. By his defeat, and that of General Moncey in Valentia, all the southern provinces of Spain were completely cleared of the invaders.

During the time of these transactions Joseph Bonaparte was preparing to take possession of his new kingdom. On his arrival at Vittoria he issued a proclamation announcing to the Spaniards the inestimable blessings which they were about to derive from his beneficent reign. By a singular coincidence of events, King Joseph, as sovereign of Spain, made his public entrance
July 20.
A. D. 1808. into Madrid on the same day that Dupont and his army surrendered to

the patriots under General Castanos. The news of that event speedily reaching the capital, cast a disagreeable gloom over the glittering prospects of royalty ; and successive accounts of the disasters of the French armies, and the approach of the patriots towards Madrid, warned the new monarch of the necessity of a timely flight. After

July 27. a short stay of seven days he began his precipitate retreat towards the frontier,

while the patriots advanced and took possession of the capital. The French, being defeated in every part of Spain, began to retreat from the different provinces towards the north ; and having placed a garrison in Burgos and seized on Bilboa, they concentrated the remainder of their forces in a strong position on the banks of the Ebro. The remains of their different armies, when collected into one body, amounted, according to the most authentic accounts, to upwards of forty-five thousand men, exclusive of the garrisons of Barcelona, Pampeluna, &c. so that the whole number of the French, left in Spain, appears to have been about sixty thousand,* a force which might certainly have been expelled without any great difficulty had a

* For the number of the French, left in Spain, see the statement in Moore's campaign in Spain, p. 173.

strong British army landed in the north, and commenced, in conjunction with the patriots, a vigorous train of operations.*

Soon after the retreat of the French from Madrid, the patriotic forces obtained a considerable accession of strength from the liberation of ten thousand Spanish veterans from the power of the French Emperor, to whose armies in Germany they had been sent as auxiliaries. Of these eight thousand were stationed in the Danish Island of Funen, and the rest in that of Langeland. The whole were under the command of the Marquis di Romana, who entered into a negotiation with the British Admiral Keats, in order to effect their deliverance. The plan of escape being formed, about the middle of August the Spaniards, in Funen, seized all the vessels and small craft in the island, the few Danish troops stationed there being unable to make any opposition, and conveyed themselves to Langeland, where their countrymen had already seized the battery at the mouth of the harbour in order to secure their entrance. They were afterwards conveyed to Spain, where they joined the patriots in supporting the cause of their country.

* See this subject discussed in the speeches of Earls St. Vincent, Grenville, and Moira, and Mr. Ponsonby, and their arguments combated by Lords Hawkebury and Castlereagh, and Mr. Canning, January 19, 1809.

The British armament, in the mean while, had proceeded to Portugal. From Spain the spirit of patriotism had been communicated to that country, and an almost general insurrection of the Portuguese had obliged the French commander to concentrate his forces in the vicinity of Lisbon. The British troops, under General Wellesley, having effected a landing, attacked and defeated General La Borde at the heights of Roleia. This action was only a prelude to the glorious battle

of Vimiera, in which the British army
Aug. 21. gained a complete victory over the whole of the French forces in Portugal, commanded by the Duke of Abrantes in person.* After this decisive action a convention was agreed on between the commanders of the two armies, in consequence of which the French evacuated Portugal.

The gallant exploits of the British troops at Vimiera, and those of the Spanish patriots in so many different engagements with the enemy, covered the actors with glory, but proved ineffectual in supporting the common cause. Spain, in the moment of her triumphs, was nearly lost by a kind of fatal mismanagement. Each of the different Juntas still continued to exercise an independent authority, which produced a

* General Junot,

want of union in their councils, and of concert in their operations, while it induced the British ministers to delay the march of the army from Lisbon into Spain.* A train of important and brilliant successes, during the months of June and July, had flushed the Spaniards with confidence, and they seemed not to entertain a doubt of being able to effect the expulsion of the enemy, and to maintain their national independence. But their views of the subject were illusory. The contest was yet to begin: they had beaten detached corps, but had not yet measured their strength with the grand army of France.

It appears, indeed, that the success which had hitherto attended their arms, had lulled the Spaniards, of every rank, into a fatal neglect of the means that were requisite to the national security, and both the people and their rulers seem to have considered themselves as fully able, without any foreign assistance, to contend with the formidable power of France.† Pompous proclamations, and exaggerated accounts of military successes, contributed to deceive both

* Vide Mr. Secretary Canning's speech, January 19, 1809; also the speeches of Lord Hawkebury and Lord Castlereagh.

† Lord William Bentinck says, in one of his letters dated about the beginning of October, "I am every moment more and more convinced that a blind confidence in their own strength, and natural slowness, are the rocks upon which this good ship runs the risk of being wrecked."

the people and their allies; and of the real state of Spanish affairs little was known in England until the British armies advanced into the country.* The retreat of the French to the banks of the Ebro had afforded the Spaniards, a fair opportunity for forming armies, and preparing the provinces to resist a future invasion. But in the moment of triumph the means of security had been totally neglected. The retreat of the French from Madrid, as already observed, took place on the 27th July, and it appears to have been about the middle of October before they began to receive reinforcements from Bayonne. Nearly three months had therefore elapsed since the French had desisted from active operations, a precious interval of leisure to Spain, had those who were in power employed it in levying, equipping, and disciplining armies that might have been able to oppose the future efforts of the enemy.†

Great allowances, however, must be made for the circumstances in which Spain was placed

* Vide Sir John Moore's letter to his brother, dated Salamanca, November 26, 1808.—Campaign in Spain, p. 72.—Letters to his Excellency J. H. Frere, dated November 27. p. 103, to Lord Castlereagh, dated Salamanca, December 5, &c.—Also Neale's letters from Spain and Portugal, lett. 33. p. 202, lett. 37. p. 219, &c.

† Sir John Moore observes that these things were neglected till the arrival of the French reinforcements, and then it was too late "under the beards of a victorious enemy." Letter to Ch. Stuart, Esq. dated Salamanca, December 1, 1808. p. 121.

at the beginning of the contest. In a country where the government was suddenly dissolved at the moment in which a foreign enemy, already in possession of its principal stations, was spreading his armed legions over its surface, it would be in vain to look for deliberate plans. Time and experience, indeed, might have taught the patriots some lessons of prudence ; but while the several provincial Juntas continued independent, and almost unconnected, jealous of each other as well as of their generals, it would have been unreasonable to expect harmony in the councils, or concert in the operations of their armies.

A measure, however, was adopted which promised to remedy these inconveniences. About the month of September a supreme central Junta was formed, and its authority extended over the whole kingdom. This union of power was expected to produce both union and vigour in political and military exertion. The new arrangement, however, proved of little advantage to Spain. The central Junta consisted of thirty-two persons with equal powers, and if we may credit the historian of Sir J. Moore's campaign, "Self interests, mutual jealousy, and discord, distracted their councils."* That commander, indeed, in his letters, gives a very unfavourable

* Vide Campaign in Spain, &c. p. 21.

view of the talents and patriotism of this assembly. "The Junta," says he, "jealous of its generals, gave them no power, but kept them at the head of separate bodies. Thus they have prevented any unity of action."* From the conduct of this assembly it has even been suspected that some of its members were partisans of France.

The establishment of a supreme central Junta having given to the government a more organized form, the British army, after a delay of two months at Lisbon, set out, under the command of Sir J. Moore, on its march into Spain.† But the difficulty of procuring provisions obliged the British general to form his army into different divisions. General Hope, with six thousand men and all the artillery, proceeded by the road of Elva towards Madrid:‡ the other columns marched by two different routes through Portu-

* Sir John Moore's letter to his brother, dated November 26, 1808. p. 72.

† It appears that the whole amount of the British army, destined to act in Spain and Portugal, including the 12,000 under General Baird, was about 40,000 men. Of these 10,000 remained in Portugal. The number, therefore, which marched from Lisbon must have been 18000. Vide Campaign in Spain, Append. p. 9.—The statement in Lord Castlereagh's letter is somewhat different in regard to the number of cavalry, &c. and makes the whole force amount to about 41,000. Vide letter to Sir J. Moore, dated November 14, 1808.

‡ The Spanish commissary general computed that if the whole British army marched by the road of Elvas, in three months all the oxen would be consumed, and very few hogs would be left in the country. Campaign in Spain, p. 33.

gal. The Spanish government had recommended Burgos as the point of union for the British troops: Madrid and Valladolid were appointed for magazines; and Sir J. Moore expected to be joined by sixty or seventy thousand men, under Generals Blake and Romana, from Asturia and Gallicia.* But on his arrival

Nov. 13. at Salamanca, Burgos and Valladolid

were in the hands of the French: the army of Estremadura was totally routed, and that of General Blake was almost annihilated. The Estremaduran army, consisting of twelve thousand undisciplined recruits, under the command of a young officer, the Count of Belvedere, had advanced as far as Burgos, and being attacked on the 11th of November by a superior force, was totally defeated. In the mean while General Blake had sustained a series of attacks from the 5th to the 10th of November at Zoroso, between Durango and Bilboa, at Valmaseda, and at Espinosa delas Montanax, where his army was totally routed. On the 13th November about 7000 of the fugitives re-assembled at Reynosa; but they presented no other appearance than that of a hungry half starved and straggling mob, in a state of the greatest confusion.†

* Vide Lord Castlereagh's letter to Lord W. Bentinck, dated 30th September, 1808. ap. Moore's Campaign in Spain, Append: p. 9.

† General Leith's letter to Sir J. Moore, dated Valley of Coqueringa, November 15.

These misfortunes were immediately succeeded by another which laid Madrid open to the enemy. The armies of the centre and the right, under Generals Castanos and Palafox, the accounts of whose force had been greatly exaggerated, did not amount to more than forty thousand men.* The head-quarters of General Castanos were at Cintruenigo, when the advanced guard of the French army appeared in sight. The Spaniards retired in the night towards Tudela, and the French columns advanced by Soria and Lerona. Castanos, doubtful of the event of an action, intended to continue his retreat; but the commissary of the Junta, and the captain-general of Arragon, considering the small ridge of hills behind Tudela as a good position, he suffered his own judgment to be overruled, and waited the approach of the hostile army. He drew up his main body near the centre of the ridge, concealing it from the enemy, and advanced his two flanks on the small hills near Tudela. The French attacked these points, and Castanos supported them from the centre. The enemy were driven back on the left, but pushing forwards a strong corps from Tudela, they renewed the attack,

Nov. 22.

* Campaign in Spain, p. 22. The miserable state of this army is strikingly depicted by Captain Whittingham, in his letter to Lord W. Bentinck, dated Calahorra, October 28, 1808. p. 24.

and threw the Spaniards into confusion. In a moment all was disorder. The Spanish army was totally defeated. Part of their troops dispersed themselves in the direction of Saragossa, and the rest towards Calatayud.*

These successive disasters were the necessary result of the preposterous plan of military operations adopted by the Junta; and must be referred to that source, rather than to want of skill in the Spanish generals, or of valour or patriotism in the troops. Nothing certainly could be worse judged than the orders sent by the Junta to General Blake to fight the French, instead of directing him to fall back and unite with the British army.† The small number and bad condition of his troops were the cause of his inactivity during the months of August and September. From the system of exaggeration adopted in Spain, it is difficult to learn what number of troops he had at any given time; but it is certain that it was never considerable, for after the arrival of General Romana, with up-

* The official reports represented the battle of Tudela as an exceedingly bloody one, and asserted that the French, by their own confession, lost 4000 men. Vide Mr. Frere's letter to Sir John Moore, dated Merida, Dec. 14, 1808, p. 250; but little credit was to be given to the exaggerated accounts published in Spain.

† "Never has there been so injudicious and ruinous a system begun and persisted in, as that which has led to the disasters of the present moment. The M. de Romana, who is here, is of that opinion." Gen. Leith's letter to Sir J. Moore, dated Nov. 15. p. 68.

wards of eight thousand men, it appears that the whole army which fought the French did not amount to seventeen thousand.* But besides its weakness in point of numbers, the condition of this army was such as to render it unable to contend with regular troops. The soldiers who came with the Marquis de Romana were well disciplined, and fought with distinguished bravery; but they were overpowered by numbers: the rest of this force consisted of unfortunate peasants, who had suffered, with constancy, during the space of four months, privations that would have annihilated a British army. Besides enduring excessive fatigue they were without shoes and almost without clothes, exposed to the cold on snowy mountains, destitute of provisions, and passing many days without bread.† The troops under Castanos and Palafox were in nearly a similar situation, and such indeed appears to have been the state of all the Spanish armies.‡

* Vide Campaign in Spain, p. 25.

† Ibid, p. 70. 71.

‡ "I leave your Excellency to conceive the critical situation of an army immovable from its few resources, and the greatest part of which was composed of new levies, badly clothed and badly provisioned." Dispatch of the Marquis de Castanos to the Secretary of the Central Junta.

An English officer, speaking of the same army, says, "But to form any idea of its composition it is absolutely necessary to have seen it. It is a complete mass of miserable peasantry, without clothing, without organization," &c. Captain Whittingham's letter to Lord William Bentinck, dated Oct. 28, 1808, and referred to above.

Another English officer, describing the state of the army under the Marquis Romana, which he saw reviewed by that General, at Leon,

There can be no cause of wonder that soldiers in such a condition should be defeated : it is no small proof of their patriotism that they could even be brought to face the enemy.

Systems of government have at all times a very great influence on national character. The mismanagement of rulers, however, ought not to fix any stigma on the people. The whole series of their history exhibits the Spaniards as a nation distinguished for an elevated patriotism and daring courage ; but it also shews that, during some centuries, their enterprising genius and martial qualities have either been abused or depressed by the tyranny or the weakness of their government. This has been the source to which that magnanimous nation owes its misfortunes. The inefficiency of their government exposed them as a prey to France, and plunged them into a state of anarchy. A patriotic flame arose, and diffused itself in a manner which has had no example in modern times ; but the national ardour has been

says that the troops were drawn up in three columns of about 2500 men each. " The right wing was badly armed and worse clothed : the left was better, being mostly provided with English firelocks." In speaking of a corps of 4000 men at Orbigo he represents them as stout young men, but without order or discipline : their clothing was motley, and some of them were half naked : their arms were extremely defective : many of their muskets had no bayonets, and the bayonets which he saw were short and bad. He also observes that at least one third of the Spanish muskets will not explode. Lieutenant-Colonel Syme's letter to Sir David Baird, dated Leon, Dec. 14. Campaign in Spain, p. 212, 213, and 216,

fatally damped by the mismanagement of those who assumed the direction of affairs. Sir. J. Moore, who has given us the most accurate view of the state of things in Spain, has, in many of his letters, complained of a want of enthusiasm both in the people and the armies.* But in ascribing this defect not to the sentiments of the nation, but to the errors of its councils, and the mismanagement of its resources, both he and other British officers, who had every opportunity for observation, do ample justice to the Spanish character.† The wretched state of the armies already described, sufficiently accounts for the decline of martial ardour, after the first impulse of enthusiasm had spent its force. Pompous proclamations may for a while amuse an ignorant populace; but something more substantial is

* Sir J. Moore's letter to his Excellency J. H. Frere, dated Dec. 6, 1808.—Letter to Ibid, dated Dec. 10.—Letter to Lord Castlereagh, dated Dec. 8. p. 84. Appendix.

† "The imbecility of the Spanish government exceeds belief. The good will of the inhabitants, whatever it may be, is of little use whilst there exists no ability to bring it into action." Sir J. Moore's letter to his Excellency J. H. Frere, Nov. 19. p. 64.—Mr. Neale describes the people of Spain as brave and well disposed, the Junta as "indolent, apathetic, and indifferent." Letters from Spain and Portugal. Letter 33.—"The poor Spaniards deserve a better fate, for they seem a fine people, but have fallen into hands that have lost them by their apathy and * * * Sir J. Moore's letter to his brother, dated Nov. 26. p. 72.—"It is perfectly evident that they, i. e. the Junta, are altogether without a plan * * * every branch is affected by the disjointed and inefficient construction of their government." Gen. Hope's letter to Sir J. Moore, dated at Madrid, Nov. 20, 1808. p. 85. These passages, with many other, shew the real cause of the sudden check to the progress of the Spanish arms.

required to feed and clothe hungry and naked soldiers.

The Junta might probably comprise several men of talent, integrity, and patriotism; but their judgment appears to have been overruled by some of its members, who were deficient in these necessary qualities. The ruinous measures of Don T. Morla have been considered as the cause of the disasters which attended the armies of Spain. Having distinguished himself by his patriotism at Cadiz,* he was appointed president of the board of military affairs, and being regarded as a man of the first abilities in Spain, the Junta appears to have given itself up, in a great measure, to his direction. Previous to his interference Castanos and Blake had acted on the defensive: but as soon as he was placed at the head of the war department, that system was reprobated, and the generals were impelled forward contrary to their own judgment.† Such a conduct has afforded some reason to suspect that this artful minister, foreseeing the probable success of the French Emperor, had combined with him, and endeavoured to deceive the Junta and the English ambassador and generals, in order to destroy both the Spanish and English

* Neale's Letters from Spain and Portugal. Letter 37. p. 222.

† Campaign in Spain, p. 91.

armies, in such a manner as to render it impossible to penetrate his designs.

While the war minister was, with great success, effecting the destruction of the Spanish armies, the military operations of the French Emperor were carried on with a vigour and to an extent commensurate to the activity of his disposition, and the magnitude of his power. Various accounts agree in calculating the French force stationed on the Ebro, in the month of August, at 45,000 men, and their different garrisons at 15,000: according to an intercepted letter from the governor of Bayonne to Mareschal Jourdan, 72,000 men were to enter Spain by the way of Bayonne between the 16th October and the 16th November: about the same time 15,000, chiefly Italians, entered Catalonia; and Junot's division of 30,000, marched into the country about the beginning of December. These make a total of 177,000; and from various reports there is reason to believe that other French corps, besides the above, entered at different periods, so that the whole force which Napoleon employed for the subjugation of Spain appears to have been about two hundred thousand men.

The defeat of the three Spanish armies under Belvedere, Blake, and Castanos, had placed the British general in a critical situation. Instead of

being joined by fixty or fevnty thousand men, according to his original expectation, he had neither been able to effect a junction nor to open a communication with any of the Spanish armies, which might now indeed be considered as in a state of dispersion. He had early foreseen the necessity of a retreat, and had intended to fall back upon Portugal; but amidst his defective intelligence concerning the disastrous state of affairs, the pressing solicitations of the Junta, and of the English ambassador, diverted him from his design, and held him in suspense with respect to his future operations.

The French Emperor, in the mean while, had entered Spain, and having taken in person the command of his armies, directed his whole force towards Madrid. The Duke de Belluno, with
 Nov. 30. one of the divisions, presented himself, about day break, at the foot of the Somma Sierra.* A division of 13,000 men of the Spanish army, defended the passage of the mountains, and, being intrenched in the narrow pass of the Puerta, with sixteen pieces of cannon, thought themselves unassailable in that position.

* The pass of Somma Sierra, which in a great measure commands that of Guadarama, is between old and new Castile. On these mountains, during nine months in the year, a Siberian winter prevails. The road from Madrid to the Somma Sierra is the most magnificent in Spain. Neale's letters from Spain and Portugal, letter 39.—Link's Travels, vol. 1.

The French generals, Senarmon and Montbrun, made a vigorous attack on that important post, which they carried after a short resistance. The Spaniards lost all their cannon, with ten flags, their military chests and two hundred waggons laden with baggage. Most of their officers, and great numbers of soldiers, were made prisoners; the rest saved themselves by throwing away their arms and dispersing in the mountains.*

Nothing now impeded the advance of the French to Madrid, and on the third day after this

Dec. 2. action the Emperor took a position

on the heights which command that capital. At this moment there were in Madrid a great number of armed peasants assembled from all quarters, six thousand troops of the line, and a hundred pieces of cannon: not less than sixty thousand men were in arms; and the bells of two hundred churches were incessantly ringing. But while the capital of Spain presented this formidable aspect of defence, it was internally a scene of confusion. Every legitimate authority was disregarded; and the chief power was in the hands of the rabble. Suspicions of treason concurred with democratical tyranny to increase the disorder. The Marquis de Perales, who had hitherto enjoyed the confidence of the

* Official account, *Moniteur*, December 13, 1808.

people, was accused of putting sand among the cartridges, and was instantly strangled. It was determined that the cartridges should be remade, and three or four thousand Monks were employed in this work at the Retiro. All the palaces and houses were ordered to be thrown open to furnish provisions at discretion.

Such was the state of Madrid when the Duke of Istria was sent to summon the city. Every appearance indicated the tyranny of the multitude. The Spanish general appeared at the advanced posts to answer the summons, and was accompanied by thirty men of the populace, whose dress, looks, and ferocious language, excited the idea of assassins. These persons dictated the words of the general, which he minuted down and caused them to verify. The aid du camp, whom the Duke of Istria had sent into the town, was seized by the mob, and would have been massacred if the troops of the line had not taken him under their protection. A young butcher, from Estremadura, who commanded at one of the gates, had the audacity to require that the Duke of Istria himself should go blindfolded into the town; and Gen. Montbrun, expressing his indignation at this presumptuous proposal, narrowly escaped being massacred by the rabble.

As it was evident that the men of property in Madrid were without influence, and that a ferocious mob being masters of the city, conciliation was altogether impossible, the French Emperor employed the evening in reconnoitring and forming a plan of attack. At seven o'clock a division of the Duke of Belluno arrived. The moon shone exceedingly bright. The Emperor ordered the generals of brigade, Maison and Lauriston, to take possession of the suburbs; and the sharp shooters made themselves masters of some buildings, particularly of the grand cemetery. The Duke of Belluno employed all the night in placing his artillery in posts marked out for the attack. At midnight a Spanish officer, who had been taken at Somma Sierra, was sent into the city with a flag of truce and a letter. The general of brigade, Senarmont, having commenced a heavy fire from thirty pieces of artillery, made a breach in the walls of the Retiro, and in less than fifteen minutes a thousand men, posted there for its defence, were put to the sword. The palace of the Retiro, the important posts of the observatory, of the porcelain manufactory, of the grand barrack, the hotel of Medina Cœli, and all the outlets which had been fortified were taken, while on another side a false attack, with twenty pieces of cannon, drew the attention of the Spaniards.

In the mean while the bustle and disorder which prevailed in Madrid was almost beyond conception. The streets were intersected with deep trenches : barricadoes of bales of wool, cotton, &c. were formed, and parapets were erected on the tops of the houses. Such of the inhabitants as despaired of a successful resistance were flying into the country : others apprehending the pillage of their property by a ferocious rabble, wished to surrender. The strangers, and those who had nothing to lose, were for holding out to the last extremity, and obliged the troops of the line to continue their fire.

Every plan of defence, however, could any have been formed by an unruly mob, was now become useless ; for the possessors of the Retiro must always be masters of Madrid. In the mean while the negotiations were continued. At

Dec. 3. nine in the morning the flag of truce returned from the city. About eleven the French Emperor ordered the fire to cease ; and at five in the afternoon Don T. Morla and Don Bernardo d'Yriate repaired to the camp. They confessed that the continuation of the defence must be madness, but represented, at the same time, that the populace and the crowd of strangers were averse to a surrender, and thought themselves capable of making an effectual resistance. The French Emperor returned for

answer that if they did not surrender at six o'clock the next morning, they and their troops should be put to the sword. This menace joined to the losses of the preceding day terrified the rabble. During the night the most turbulent saved themselves by flight. At

Dec. 4. six in the morning Madrid surrendered: at ten the French general took the command of the city: a general pardon was proclaimed, and tranquillity was restored.

The surrender of Madrid has been attributed to the treasonable practices of Don T. Morla and the Prince of Castelfranco.* It does not, however, appear probable that the metropolis, which was under the influence of an ungovernable mob, could have made an effectual resistance against the armies of France; nor can it appear surprising that those noblemen, as well as all the persons of property, should prefer the surrender of the city to the horrors of popular licentiousness, and the dangerous consequences of a hostile assault. Some parts of their conduct, however, toward both their own and the British generals, are far from tending to exculpate them from the charge of a systematic design of ruining the

* Neale's letter from Spain and Portugal. Lett. 41. p. 243.—
Moore's Campaign in Spain. p. 166.

Colonel Graham's letter to Sir J. Moore, dated at Talavera, December 7.

cause of Spain in order to secure for themselves the favour of the Emperor of the French.

The successes of the enemy had placed Gen. Moore in a situation extremely critical ; and his want of intelligence concerning these events was very near leading him into dangerous errors. He had long been pressed both by the Junta and by his Excellency J. H. Frere, the English ambassador, to advance with his army to Madrid.* Nothing, however, could induce him to hazard such a step. So late as the 2d of December, the day on which the French invested Madrid, the British general received from Don T. Morla and the Prince of Castelfranco a pressing invitation to advance to the capital, when they must have known that, had he adopted that measure, not a man of his army could have escaped.†

But one of the most striking as well as the most embarrassing circumstances relating to these affairs was the extraordinary want of intelligence every where observable. From the time of his entrance into Spain the British general had not been enabled to open a communication with any

* Mr. Frere's letter to Sir J. Moore, dated at Talavera, December 3. p. 142.—Mr. Frere's letter to Sir J. Moore, dated at Aranjuez, November 30. p. 129, &c.

† The supreme central Junta had, on the approach of the French, retired to Talavera : from thence to Truxillo : afterwards to Merida ; last of all to Seville.

of the Spanish armies. He had been "kept perfectly in the dark with respect to their movements, the plans of their generals or their government."* The endeavours of the Junta to deceive their allies, by an exaggerated representation of their military force, is every where observable.† It is somewhat singular that the first official intelligence of the surrender of Madrid was received by the British general in a letter from Mr. Frere, dated at Merida, December 14th, which was not delivered till the 22d, although it had appeared in the *Moniteur* of Paris on the 14th, and on the 19th in the London newspapers.‡ The British ambassador, indeed, had long before complained to the Junta of its system of concealment and equivocation.§ But the subsequent transactions of that assembly shew that his remonstrances had not produced the intended effect. At least the Junta cannot be exculpated from the charge of inactivity in procuring intelligence, and posterity will read, with astonishment, that so late as the 13th of

* Sir J. Moore's letter to the Marquis de Romana, dated Salamanca, December 6, 1808.

† Campaign in Spain, p. 16, 25, 26.—Sir D. Baird's letter to Sir J. Moore, dated November 23.

‡ Campaign in Spain, p. 250, 253.—General Moore had received intelligence from Col. Graham, on the 9th December, that some sort of an armistice had been agreed on at Madrid. The Colonel had heard this at Talavera, and his diligence had outstript the speed of his letter, p. 182.

§ Vide remonstrance of Mr. Frere to the Junta, November 23.

December, the Spanish government still remained ignorant of the surrender of the capital.*

Madrid having fallen, the French Emperor resolved to give the discomfited Spaniards no time to rally, but to complete the dispersion of their troops, and penetrate, with celerity, from the capital to the extremities of the kingdom. For this purpose he formed and began to execute an extensive plan of operations. Marechal Bessieres pursued the remains of the central army on the road to Valentia : the Duke of Treviso proceeded against Saragossa : the Duke of Dalmatia was ordered to subjugate Leon : the Duke of Belluno took possession of Toledo ; and the Duke of Dantzick marched towards Badajos, while the Emperor himself was ready to support all these movements from Madrid, and thus to complete the subjugation of Spain.

The British general now began to be convinced of the necessity of a retreat from a country which he considered as conquered. His view of things in Spain had always been widely different from those of the ambassador. The latter entertained the highest opinion of the enthusiasm of all ranks of people, and had been desirous that the

* On the evening of 19th December the Marquis Romana received letters from the Junta, dated December 13, informing him that Madrid still held out. Vide letter of General Romana to Sir J. Moore, dated December 19, p. 240.

British army should advance towards the centre of Spain; but in case of the absolute necessity of relinquishing their object, he recommended a retreat to Corunna in preference to Portugal.* After General Moore was fully acquainted with the capture of Madrid, he departed from Salamanca, and on his arrival at Majorga was joined Dec. 20: by Sir David Baird, with the British troops who had landed at Corunna, and amounted to 10,722 men. Sir J. Moore having concerted with the Marquis de Romana an attack on the Duke of Dalmatia, whose force was scarcely equal to that of the British army, advanced to Sahagan. But the French Emperor, who had hitherto supposed that General Moore was retreating towards Portugal,† had now discovered all his designs. He therefore sent orders to the Duke of Dalmatia to retire, and draw the English on towards Burgos, or as far to the eastward as possible, and to push on a corps towards Leon on their left flank. The Duke of Abrantes, at the same time, advanced from Burgos to Placentia, and threatened their right. The Duke of Dantzick, who had advanced as far as Arzo-bispo, in pursuit of the Spanish general, Galuzo, was stop-

* Vide his Excellency Mr. Frere's letter to Sir John Moore, ubi supra.

† Vide intercepted letter from the Prince of Neufchatel to the Duke of Dalmatia, dated Chamartin, Dec. 10.

ped, and ordered to march for Salamanca. And the Duke of Treviso was countermanded in his march towards Saragossa. Napoleon himself, with the grand army at Madrid, was ready to advance directly to Benevento. Thus the whole disposeable force of the French in Spain, forming an irregular crescent, was marching in radii to surround the British army.

The whole design, however, was discovered by General Moore, who, finding a junction with Romana impracticable, commenced his
Dec. 24. memorable retreat from Sahagan to Corunna.* The French Emperor in person had already marched from Madrid on the 18th December, with 32,000 infantry, and 8,000 cavalry. His advanced guard of cavalry passed through Tordefillas on the 24th, the same day on which the van of the English left Sahagan. Both of them moved towards Benevento. The retreat and the pursuit were then continued to Astorga, where General Moore, being again joined by General Baird, who had come from Valencia, the whole British army was reunited.†

* The Marquis Romana retreated at the same time in great confusion, but still kept at the head of a small body of troops in Galicia.

† The whole number of effective men that entered Spain under General Moore and General Baird appears to have been 29,350 men; but after their junction they are said to have not exceeded 25,300. Vide Campaign in Spain, p. 236, or 28,081, p. 175; if these numbers be compared with p. 83 Appendix, all the calculations must appear uncertain.

When the Emperor of the French reached Astorga he was joined by the Duke of Dalmatia; and the whole army amounted to at least 65,000 men.* Napoleon, disappointed at finding the English army beyond his reach, halted, and committed the pursuit to the Duke of Dalmatia, who was joined by the Duke of Abrantes.

The British general continued, with great rapidity, his retreat through Gallicia, with a loss of almost seven thousand men, chiefly from hardships and fatigue, together with their baggage, and a very considerable number of horses. The French continually harraßed their rear until they reached Corunna. Under the walls of

Jan. 16. that city the British forces engaged
 .D. 1809. and defeated the superior numbers of the enemy. The victory secured their embarkation; but it was obtained with the loss of the brave General Moore, and many other valuable officers; and that distinguished commander, General Baird, having received a wound in the arm, which rendered amputation immediately necessary, the command devolved on General Hope, who completed the defeat of the enemy.†

* The other armies under the Dukes of Dantzick and Treviso were not come up.

† The loss of the English in killed and wounded amounted to above 700 men. General Hope conjectured that the French lost double that number.

Thus terminated an expedition from which both Spain and England expected a very different result. To the self confidence of the Spaniards, the negligence and mutual jealousies of their rulers, and the long inactivity of the British troops at Lisbon, must be imputed the cause of its failure. Had a different system been pursued the enemy might, in all probability, have been compelled to evacuate the country. But the favourable opportunity of expelling the French, and securing the passes of the Pyrenees, had, by a series of mismanagement, been lost; and a way had always been left open for the whole force of France to pour itself into Spain.

The retreat of the English, however, by drawing the whole disposeable force of the French towards Leon and Gallicia, afforded a favourable opportunity to the dispersed Spaniards to rally and organize new armies, and to make a stand in the southern provinces. The Junta had, before the middle of December, retired to Seville; and being freed from the traitors which had lurked in its bosom, seems, from that period, to have adopted a more rational system. After the embarkation of the English, Napoleon again resumed his plan of pushing his armies in every direction, in order to complete the subjugation of the peninsula; and the capture of Saragossa,

the siege of which had never been abandoned, was the first important conquest after that of Madrid.

Saragossa, which had so long baffled the skill and the valour of the French, did not bend to the yoke until the greatest part of the city was levelled with the ground, and numbers of the inhabitants had fallen by the sword. A body of about ten thousand men, who had escaped from the battle of Tudela, which was fought on the 23d November, had thrown themselves into Saragossa, and the citizens and peasants from the country swelled the number of its defenders to about fifty thousand. They were animated by the valour and patriotism of the brave General Palafox, their governor, under whose command they had repeatedly compelled the enemy to retire from before the walls ; but sickness prevented the hero of Saragossa from displaying his former activity. Religion was called in to the aid of military enthusiasm : most of the insurgent generals and subalterns were monks, whose holy profession seemed to sanctify the cause in which they had taken arms, while their violent harangues excited the ardour of a martial people. The place was provided with immense magazines and two hundred pieces of cannon ; but the valour of the people was its principal defense ; and the fall of Saragossa will be memorable to

the latest posterity. On the 27th November the Duke of Montebello,* with an army of between fifty and sixty thousand men, invested the city: the insurgents made frequent sorties, and several actions took place in the neighbourhood. On the 26th January, 1809, the French made their grand attack. About noon on the 27th the breaches were practicable in several places, and the assailants, entering the city, made themselves masters of about thirty houses; but General Lacoste, with a number of their bravest soldiers, fell in the assault. The inhabitants, however, refused to listen to any proposals for a capitulation; and their determined resolution to dispute every inch of ground, and to convert every house into a fortress, reduced the French to the necessity of mining and blowing up the city as they advanced. On the 30th January sixty houses were blown up, and the French became masters of the monastery of St. Monica, and of that of the Augustines. The Spaniards immediately had recourse to countermining. The attack and defence were now carried on by mining and countermining: three companies of miners, and eight companies of sappers, were

* The Duke of Montebello, (Mareschal Lannes) one of the bravest and most accomplished of the French generals, died of the wounds which he received at the battle of Aspern, fought on the banks of the Danube, May 22, 1809.

constantly employed by the French in this subterraneous war: the effects were dreadfully destructive; but the Spaniards, being inferior in skill to the French, sustained the greatest loss. By this method of mining and blowing up the houses, the French at length advanced to the great street called the Cofso. On the 17th February they made themselves masters of the left bank of the river, and several large buildings were blown up by their mines. During the whole time that these tremendous operations continued, the batteries kept up an incessant fire on the town, and the magnificent church of Neustra Signora del Pilar,* famed for the miraculous image of the Virgin, and the numerous concourse of devotees from all parts of Spain, was demolished by the bombs. At length the French

Feb. 21. became masters of the city, after
A. D. 1809. more than twenty thousand of its brave defenders had buried themselves under its ruins.† Posterity will pay to their patriotism and valour the just tribute of applause and admiration, and will remark with astonishment, that the veteran legions of France, commanded by one of the ablest of her Generals, were for the

* So called from the Madona being placed on a marble pillar surrounded with numerous lamps.

† For the Siege of Saragossa vide 33d bulletin of the French army in Spain.

space of twenty four days, within the walls of the city, employed in the most tremendous modes of attack that the genius of war has invented, before they were able to complete its reduction, a circumstance which will render the defence of Saragossa memorable and glorious as long as history shall be read and courage applauded.

The successive victories of the French, the submission of Madrid, where Joseph Bonaparte was a second time received as King, the retreat of the British army, and the reduction of Saragossa, were a series of disasters which seemed to have sealed the fate of Spain. The advantage gained by the Duke d'Albuquerque over a French corps of eleven thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, whom he repulsed in an
Feb. 22. attack which they made on his position at Consevegra, was only a small compensation for so many misfortunes. In the beginning of March the French army in Catalonia attacked that of the patriots under General Reding, who occupied an excellent position. Two desperate engagements took place; but the patriots still kept their ground. The French being reinforced by eight thousand men, commenced a third attack; and, after a most sanguinary action, the Spanish general, who was severely wounded, was obliged to retreat to Terragona. About the

March 12. same time General Cuesta being attacked by a division of the French army, was compelled to abandon his position near the Tagus, and retire to Marahete. The French having afterwards passed the Tagus at the bridge of Arzo bispo, Cuesta retreated to Truxillo, and from thence to Santa Cruz. After these retrograde movements, the Spanish general, receiving intelligence that the enemy had detached part of his troops from Miadajee, resolved to advance and offer him battle. The French, consisting of about twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, were drawn up in the front of Medellin ;* and the Spanish infantry marched boldly to the attack : but the cowardice of some of their cavalry threw the left wing into confusion. After losing a hundred and seventy officers, killed, wounded, and prisoners, with a very great number of soldiers, General Cuesta was obliged to retreat to Monasterio. About the same time Vigo was recovered by the patriots ; but the different divisions of the French army were now pushing forward into Valentia and Estramadura. Their appearance was expected in Andalusia, and the destiny of Spain seemed to be decided.

* Official report of the action at Medellin transmitted to the Supreme Central Junta, and dated April 7, 1809.

At this momentous crisis, Providence seemed to interpose in favour of the Spanish nation. Austria, whose strength had been repeatedly broken, and her dominions curtailed by the French Emperor, once more undertook to oppose his tremendous power and his ceaseless encroachments. The causes of this new war have not been clearly developed, nor is it necessary in this place to enter into an investigation of the subject. Each side, as usual, accused the other of being the aggressor. It is evident, however, that all Europe was menaced by the ambition of the French Emperor: his usurpation of the crown of Spain might excite the court of Vienna to arm in the cause of all Kings and all nations; and the moment in which he was engaged in a war with the Spanish people, might be considered by Austria as presenting a favourable opportunity of recovering from the state of degradation to which she had been reduced by the battle of Austerlitz.

Whatever were the motives which incited, or the circumstances that compelled Francis II. to try once more the fortune of arms, the occurrence was extremely favourable to the patriots of Spain, who seemed to be on the brink of destruction. The French Emperor was obliged to leave the peninsula and hasten to Germany, in order to direct the military operations against

Austria, while the conduct of the war in Spain was committed to his generals, whose armies could not, as before, be constantly reinforced from France, so long as the greatest efforts were to be made on the banks of the Danube.

These circumstances reanimated the patriots, and the scale of success began suddenly to turn. After the retreat of the English, and their embarkation at Corunna, the Duke of Dalmatia had penetrated through Galicia into Portugal, and taken Oporto; but another formidable armament from England having arrived at Lisbon, Generals Wellesley and Beresford marched against the

May 11 & 12. invaders, and defeated them with considerable loss. 1809. The Duke of Dalma-

tia was obliged to evacuate not only the city of Oporto but to retire from Portugal, and his army suffered in its retreat nearly the same calamities and hardships as the English had experienced about five months before in retiring to Corunna. In Spain, as well as in Portugal, the French began to lose ground. The patriotic spirit revived in Galicia: the Spanish armies were reinforced by numerous bodies of armed peasants; and the Marquis de Romana collected a formidable force. In Biscay, the seaport town

June 9. of St. Andero, was taken by the patriots, the greatest part of the French garrison were put to the sword, and the rest, in attempting

to make their escape, were captured by the British ships, which were cruising off the harbour. Several other towns and fortresses were recovered by the Spaniards.

The defeat of the Emperor Napoleon at the battle of Aspern, on the banks of the Danube, had, indeed, deprived the French of the hopes of extending their conquests in Spain.* Their movements became almost every where retrograde, and began to indicate a design of concentrating their forces in the neighbourhood of Burgos, and on the banks of the Ebro, in order to secure the communication between Madrid and France.

But the brilliant prospect which had brightened, for a moment, the political horizon of Spain, was suddenly obscured by the unfavourable turn of affairs in Germany. The defeat of the Austrians, at the battle of Wagram, obliged them to conclude an armistice, which was followed by a treaty of peace; and the Emperor of the French saw himself once more at leisure to direct his whole force against Spain.† Joseph Bonaparte had already marched from Madrid

* The battle of Aspern, near Vienna, was fought on the 21st and 22d May, 1809. The French Emperor was obliged to retreat with great loss from the left bank of the Danube to the island of Lobau.

† The battle of Wagram was fought on the 6th July, and on the 14th October peace was concluded between France and Austria.

with an intention of attacking General Vinegas before he could be joined by the British army, under General Wellesley. But the Spanish general having retreated to the Sierra Morena, the French recrossed the Tagus and concentrated themselves at Talavera, and on the Alberche, being about 25,000 in number.* The corps of Vinegas was again advancing. General Cuesta, whose army consisted of 38,000 men, had his head quarters at Almaraz, where he and General Wellesley concerted a plan of operations against the enemy.† The British army broke up from Placentia on the 17th and 18th July, and on the 20th reached Oropesa, where it formed a junction with General Cuesta. On the 22d the combined armies moved from Oropesa, and the advanced guards of the English and Spaniards, under General Anson, Lieutenant-General Payne, Major-General Mackenzie, Gen. Saragas, and the Duc d'Albuquerque, attacked and drove in the enemy's outposts at Talavera. The 24th July was fixed on for a general attack; but the French had retired in the night to Santa Ollala, and from thence towards Torrijos.

In the morning General Cuesta followed the enemy to Santa Ollala, and pushed his

* Vide Gen. Wellesley's dispatch dated Placentia 15th July, 1809.

† Gen. Wellesley's dispatches of the 15th and 24th July.

advanced guard as far as Torrijos. But the deficiency of the means of transport prevented Gen. Wellefley from advancing with equal celerity. The British general, therefore, could only move forward two divisions in order to keep up his communication with the Spanish army and Sir R. Wilson's corps at Escalona. In the course of the 24th, 25th, and 26th, the French had assembled all the disposable force which they had in that part of Spain; and their army was commanded by Joseph Bonaparte in person, aided by Mareschals Jourdan and Victor, and General Sebastiani. On the 26th the advanced guard of General Cuesta, being attacked, was obliged to fall back; and the Spanish commander, with his whole army, retired to the left bank of the Alberche. It being obvious that the French intended to try the result of a battle, General Cuesta joined the British army at Talavera, where it was resolved to wait the approach of the enemy.* The position taken by the combined army extended somewhat more than two miles: the ground was open on the left where the British troops were stationed, and it was commanded by a height which was occupied by Major-General Hill with a division of infantry.

* Talavera is situated in a valley on the banks of the Tagus, about 40 miles nearly west of Toledo, and somewhat more than 60 S. W. from Madrid.

The Spanish army was on the right, extending immediately in front of the town of Talavera down to the Tagus, occupying a ground covered with olive trees, and much intersected with ditches and banks. The high road leading from the bridge over the Alberche was defended by a heavy battery in front of a church, which was occupied by Spanish infantry; and all the avenues to the town, which was also occupied, were defended in a similar manner. On the 27th July, about two in the afternoon, one of the English divisions* which was at an advanced post in the wood on the right of the Alberche, was attacked, and retired in good order. As the day advanced the French appeared in greater numbers on the right bank of the Alberche; and in the dusk of the evening commenced a general attack by a cannonade on the left, and by an attempt with their cavalry to overthrow the Spanish infantry on the right. This attempt, however, entirely failed. The enemy renewed his attacks twice in the night, and again at day-
July 28. light in the morning, but with no better
1809. success. It appears that the French finding themselves unable to make any impression on the Spaniards, directed all their efforts against the English. About noon they made a general

* That of Gen. Mackenzie.

attack with their whole force upon that part of the position which was occupied by the British army. The conflict was sanguinary, and the issue for some time doubtful ; but the French being at length repulsed, retired in regular order across the Alberche, leaving behind them seventeen pieces of cannon, two tumbrils, and some prisoners.* Their loss in killed and wounded was supposed to amount to ten thousand : the loss of the English was stated in the returns at 5367, among whom were two generals killed and three wounded, besides a great number of other distinguished officers.† The French had also two generals killed and two wounded.‡ The loss of the Spaniards was inconsiderable. After the first attack only a few of their corps were engaged : these consisted both of infantry and cavalry, and displayed great courage ; but the position of the Spanish army was too important to be abandoned, a circumstance which prevented General Cuesta from making any movement to support the English.§

* Gen. Wellesley's dispatches dated Talavera, 29th July. London Gazette, Aug. 15, 1809.

† Major-General Mackenzie and Brigadier-General Langworth, killed. Major-General Hill, Brigadier-General A. Campbell, and Brigadier-General H. Campbell, wounded.

‡ General Lapierre and General Montlot, killed.—General Boulet and General Sebastiani, wounded.

§ Vide General Wellesley's dispatch, ubi supra.

The French give a very different account of this action: they even assert the advantage to have been on their side. But it is evident that they failed of attaining their object, and were repulsed in all their attacks. Never, however, was a victory productive of fewer advantages. The fatigue of the troops, the want of provisions, and the number of wounded, prevented the English from making any movement, although the rear guard of the enemy, consisting of ten thousand men, remained on the heights on the left of the Alberche till the night of the 31st of July, when it was withdrawn, and their whole army marched towards St. Ollala. At length General Wellesley, (now Lord Wellington)*

August 3.

moved from Talavera in the design of attacking the Duke of Dalmatia before he could form a junction with General Victor. The Spanish army, under General Cuesta, was left at Talavera to keep Victor occupied by a demonstration, and, if necessary, for the defence of the place. But Cuesta, receiving information that the Duke of Dalmatia had an army superior in strength to that of the English, immediately abandoned his position, and formed a junction with Lord Wellington. Victor being, at the same

* General Sir A. Wellesley was created Lord Wellington in consideration of his gallant conduct at Talavera.

time, in motion in the rear of the Spaniards, the British general resolved to cross the Tagus in order to avoid being surrounded by two hostile armies. The passage was effected at Arzo-bispo, and the army took a defensive position on the banks of that river. The wounded had been left at Talavera, and consequently fell into the hands of the enemy.

August 5.

From this period our intelligence from Spain has been so confused, vague, and contradictory, that the historian, preferring silence to misrepresentation, can only exhibit a slight sketch instead of descending to particulars. In consequence of the scarcity of provisions, and the increasing force of the French, Lord Wellington judged it expedient to retire to Badajoz, on the frontier of Portugal, where the sickly state of the troops and other causes have kept the British army, during the autumn, in a state of inactivity. The Duke del Parque gained a considerable victory over the French at Tamames,* and pushing forward to Salamanca the French retired at his approach, and he took possession of that city, which, however, he was soon after obliged to abandon.

October 25:

* The loss of the French in killed, wounded, and prisoners, at the battle of Tamames, was supposed to amount to upwards of 3000 men. Col. Carroll's dispatch, dated Salamanca, October 26.

During the whole of this campaign the fortresses of Gerona had resisted all the efforts of the enemy.* The French garrison of Barcelona has also, ever since the first invasion, held out against the patriots, by whom it has been almost constantly blockaded. A squadron which sailed from Toulon, with supplies for Barcelona, was

Nov. 1. destroyed in the Bay of Rosas by a

detachment from the British fleet in the Mediterranean; and General Blake, by a train of masterly manœuvres, relieved Gerona. But these advantages in the north were more than counterbalanced by dreadful events in the centre of Spain. General Arrizaga, with the army of La Mancha, having rashly determined to march to Madrid, was attacked near Ocana by

Nov. 18. the whole concentrated force of the

French, drawn together from the neighbourhood of that capital. The conflict which is said to have been extremely obstinate, ended in the total defeat and dispersion of the Spaniards, whose loss in prisoners alone is reported to amount to fifteen thousand men.† The French

* While this fleet is at the press intelligence is received of the surrender of Gerona after a long and desperate resistance.

† The numbers of which the French and Spanish armies consisted at these battles, as well as the other particulars, are unknown. The uncertainty of newspaper accounts, whether French, Spanish, Portuguese, or English, renders them a feeble foundation for history, and there does not at present exist any other documents concerning these matters.

papers also announce the total defeat of the army of the Duc del Parque, who, according to their accounts, lost three thousand men killed, and two thousand prisoners, with fifteen pieces of cannon, ten thousand muskets, six standards, and a number of caissons.* From these accounts the cause of Spain appears to be desperate, unless powerfully supported by England.

The Cardinal de Bourbon, Archbishop of Toledo, is said to have been appointed president of the Junta, and to have determined on the most rigorous measures for maintaining the independency of Spain. We have also confused accounts of alarming dissensions in that assembly. The 1st of January, 1810, is, according to the most authentic intelligence, appointed for the assembling of the Cortes, a measure which ought to have been adopted immediately after the retreat of the French from Madrid in the month of July 1808. At present it is probably too late.† The

* The advance of General Arrizaga and the Duc del Parque, in the face of the French armies appears extremely rash; but whether their measures were the effect of their own temerity, or whether like Blake and the other Spanish generals in the campaign of 1808, they were impelled forward by the orders of the Junta, is at present unknown.

† The Poles established a political constitution on the broad basis of general liberty, when it was too late, when two thirds of their country

Junta have published a most spirited and energetic proclamation, in which they declare that in Spain is drawn, never to be sheathed, the sword of eternal hostility against the execrable tyrant, that there is raised, never to be lowered, the standard of independence.* But to verify these pompous declarations, their measures must be different from those which have hitherto been adopted. Spain, if left to herself, must infallibly sink under the overwhelming power of France. The peninsula may be considered as the last stake of the continent; and its independence is an object worthy of all the efforts that Great Britain is able to make.† The well known abilities of Lord Wellington afford some grounds of hope; and the entrance of the Marquis Wellesley into the British ministry appears an auspicious omen to Spain. But if the contest prove ultimately unsuccessful, the views of the politician and the moral philosopher will naturally be turned to-

was already in the hands of their enemies. Vide Segur. Hist. Fred. William, vol. 3. chap. 12. p. 149. Had this been done while their dominions were entire, a numerous and free people might have defied all the efforts of foreigners.

* Dated Seville, 21st Nov. 1809.

† Sir John Moore was decidedly of opinion that if the French conquer Spain Portugal cannot be saved. Lett. to Lord Castlereagh, dated Nov. 25, 1808, Appendix 48; and lett. to General Sir D. Baird, Nov. 28, Campaign in Spain, p. 114. The force of Lord Wellington at the close of the year 1809, is said to amount to about 32,000 men, exclusive of the artillery. This, however, appears extremely doubtful.

wards Spanish America. Mexico and Peru must, in the natural course of things, rise to independence: the period cannot be far distant; and the submission of Spain to a foreign yoke would infallibly accelerate the event.* The Emperor of the French has declared that he will not oppose the independence of the Spanish colonies, and thus graciously grants them a privilege which he knows that he cannot withhold.† But it is not the province of the historian to expatiate in the boundless regions of conjecture. The past is properly his subject. Time must develop the future. The issue of the contest between Spain and France will decide the fate of the Continent of Europe, and its consequences in the transatlantic world will exercise the pens of future historians.

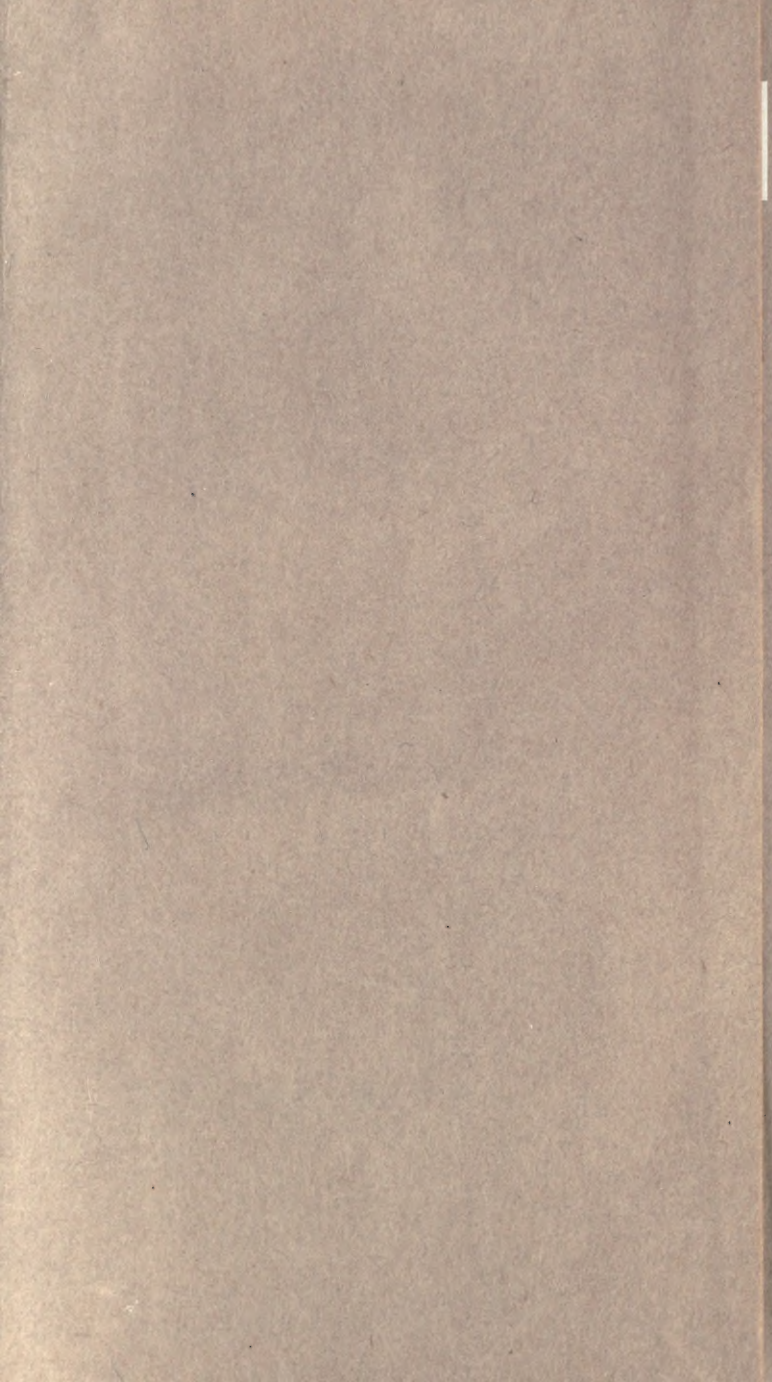
* The reader may see this subject treated at length by the author in his "Political Aspect of Europe." London, 1804. Lett. 10. p. 223, &c. In that work the author pointed out the propriety of the removal of the Portuguese government to Brazil, and almost predicted that event. Lett. 10. p. 216, 225.

† Exposé of the situation of France delivered to the legislative body. Dec. 12. 1809.

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